



AUGUSTUS & CLEOPATRA.

Published 20 June 1749 by J. & P. Knapton.



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THE ANTIENT
HISTORY
OF THE

EGYPTIANS, MEDES and
CARTHAGINI- PERSIANS,
ANS, MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS, AND
BABYLONIANS, GRECIANS.

V O L XII.

Continuation of the HISTORY of
ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *Late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

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THE ANTIQUARY
HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT
AND
MODERN
HISTORY
OF THE
EMPIRE
OF THE
ROMANS
AND
THE
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OF THE
BYZANTINES

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(a) AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between

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B

tween

(a) A. M. 3769. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. 24. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 307. Polyb. l. 8. p. 515—518.

tween attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land * : by land, on the side of Hexapyla ; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines, used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans : this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance : which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with immense weight at the end of them upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides
this,

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III.

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this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Galleys, frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *Sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head assisted in raising it with leavers. The galleys afterwards being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *Sambuca* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner of a drawbridge) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes dis-

charged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten^{*} quintals; then a second, and immediately after a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed † scorpions, which not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their

* The quintal which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed an hundred and twenty five pounds: the largest more than twelve hundred.

† The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

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their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls : and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries upon them. " Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, in making war with " this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys " and sambucas so rudely ? He infinitely exceeds the fabled " giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and sur- " prizing discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them ; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city ; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge; I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it useful; and did not stay, till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so: which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very * arms of peace he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost cotemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances, of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shews how high the antients had carried their

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello, Horat.
And wise in peace prepared the arms of war.

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their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention ; but as no antient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

(b) After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily ; but that of the Carthaginians seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has lately published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, with which I am convinced the public will be well pleased. The first volume of this

(b) A. M. 3791, Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. l. 24. n. 35, 36.

this work appeared some months ago, in the front of which there is a long preface well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

(c) In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprize having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource,

(c) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. 25. B. 23, 31. Plut. in Marcell. p. 308, 309.

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resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army: a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest
and

and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the Isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryalus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land-side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis, and in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

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During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicydes at the same time made a salley upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprizes was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season. But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and laments. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them; he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomiclar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships,

ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomiliar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increase every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomiliar stood to sea in order to double the cape. But when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the disposition of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and given them

them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, " That for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to them : That if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection not enmity to the Syracusans : That it was not till after they had been apprized of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and began the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants : That as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of faith to them, were still alive ? That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but from themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans : That they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants ; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty, was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : " It was not the people of Syracuse, who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still to Rome than to his country : and afterwards, when the peace

" was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that
 " infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates
 " and Epicydes. They were the enemies who have made
 " war against you, after having made us slaves, either by
 " violence, or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said that
 " we have had any times of liberty that have not also been
 " times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we are
 " become masters of ourselves by the death of those, who held
 " Sicily in subjection, we come the very instant to deliver up
 " to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, de-
 " termined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to
 " impose. For the rest," continued he, always addressing
 himself to Marcellus, " your interest is as much concerned as
 " ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken
 " the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks.
 " All we have ever achieved of memorable either by sea
 " or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is
 " not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make known the
 " greatness and strength of the city you have taken; po-
 " sterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is
 " necessary that we should shew to all travellers, from
 " whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the
 " trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Car-
 " thaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from
 " us; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the
 " protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal
 " monument of the valour and clemency of him, who
 " took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance
 " of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than
 " that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend
 " than the former your enemy. Permit me to say, you
 " have experienced the amity of Hiero: but the senseless
 " enterprizes of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his
 " own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from
 Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst
 those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should
 be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers
 with

with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected ; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus : him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his

camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence :
 “ That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman people
 “ more good, than those who had been masters of Syracuse
 “ some years past, had intended to do them harm ; but
 “ that their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and
 “ they had punished themselves for their violation of trea-
 “ ties in a more severe manner, than the Romans could
 “ have desired : That he had besieged Syracuse during three
 “ years, not that the Roman people might reduce it into
 “ slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolters from
 “ continuing it under oppression : That he had undergone
 “ many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege ; but that he
 “ thought he had made himself ample amends by the glory
 “ of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having
 “ saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve.” Af-
 ter having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safe-guards
 in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into
 his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops.
 It is reported, that the riches, which were pillaged in Sy-
 racuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected
 at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus,
 and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at the
 time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut
 up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no
 regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of
 some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes but the whole
 faculties of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation,
 that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, uni-
 versally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's be-
 ing taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and
 bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him
 to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished
 the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded nei-
 ther his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay,
 drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly
 afflicted, when he heard the news of his death. Not being
 able to restore him to life, of which he would have been

very

very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. *Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines of his invention. Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

(d) At the time he was questor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make search after the tomb of Archimedes;

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a cu-

(d) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 64, 66.

a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him, that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, * *that he found what he had looked for*. The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. † So that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizens, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says ||: "I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Archi-

chitas,

* *Ευρυα* in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

|| Non ergo jam cum hujus

vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architzæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe HUMILEM HOMUNCTIONEM à pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedes.

ALEXANDER'S Successors.

19

“chitas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with
 “that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable,
 “and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have
 “recourse to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OB-
 “SCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I
 “shall produce him from his *dust, and bring him upon the
 “stage with his rule and compasses in his hand.” Not to
 mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a
 different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose
 sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of
 the Learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little
 and obscure as a common artificer, employed in making ma-
 chines; unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with
 whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never
 gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what re-
 lated to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus

Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

VIRGIL. *Æn.* 6.

*Let others better mold the running mass
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
 And soften into flesh a marble face;
 Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
 And when the stars descend and when they rise;
 But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
 Disposing peace and war, thy own majestick way.*

DRYDEN.

(e) This is the Abbe Fraguier's reflection in the short dis-
 sertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECT. II.

(e) *Memoirs of the academy of inscriptions, Vol. II.*

* He means the dust used by geometricians.

SECT. II. *Summary of the history of Syracuse.*

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called Græcia major, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. (f) It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the xviith Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. (g) It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

(b) GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amiclar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I
say

(f) A. M. 3295. (g) A. M. 3520. (b) A. M. 3520.

* In the history of the Carthaginians.

say after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.

(i) GELON, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. Vol. III.

(k) HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III.

(l) THRASIBULUS. Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III.

Times of liberty.

(m) After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

(n) During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, Vol. III.

(o) DIONYSIUS the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more, for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. Vol. V.

(p) Dio-

(i) A. M. 3525. (k) A. M. 3532. (l) A. M. 3543.

(m) A. M. 3544. (n) A. M. 3588. (p) A. M. 3598.

(p) *Dionysius the younger.* Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

(q) Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

(r) Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

(s) Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, Brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

(t) Dionysius the younger taking advantage of those troubles, reascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

(u) At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Vol. I. Vol. V.

Times of liberty.

(x) Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. Vol. V.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

(y) AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. Vol. I.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times

(p) A. M. 3632. (q) A. M. 3644. (r) A. M. 3646.

(s) A. M. 3647. (t) A. M. 3654. (u) A. M. 3657.

(x) A. M. 3658. (y) A. M. 3683.

Times of liberty.

(2) Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. Vol. I.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II, which was very long, and almost always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it, by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them: but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.*

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished: *quasi victoria premium, ac*
pœna

pena belli. Sicily, in submitting to the * Roman people, retained all her antient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily

* *Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruissent. Cic. ibid.*

† Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata: prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam

ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, & rei frumentariæ subsidium, & receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. *Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.*

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, knowing like him in the obligations of his functions, and like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says: "In all * the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular use, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world; and in

Vol. XII.

D

" this

* O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spernere reliquæ vitæ vestra populi R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia

semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis — Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit rectè collocata, & judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur.

Cic. Verr. 7. c. 35—37.

" this thought I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those which are authorized by nature and necessity. I am now intended for *Ædile*. I call the gods to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more sollicitude and disquiet, than joy and pleasure from it; so much I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed upon me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up; but conferred deservedly by the choice and discernment of my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprizing scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftner violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: Sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a palace,

* Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi ideo fasces & secures, & tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, & officii

perfringeres; ut omnium bonarum prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullus domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam posset esse. *Ibid.* n. 39.

palace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles, and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, antient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what I am convinced conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: To attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons, that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable

power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature; and yet when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable

* Imperatoris est hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hist. l. 1. c. 16.*

capable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans alway enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.





BOOK THE TWENTY-
FIRST.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

History of the SUCCESSORS

OF

ALEXANDER the Great.

THIS book contains two articles, of which the first includes the history of Mithridates king of Pontus, and the second the reigns of Ptolemy Auletes, and the famous Cleopatra, with which ends the history of the Greeks.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article includes the space of sixty years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates; from the year of the world 3880, to the year 3943.

SECT. I.

SECT. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.*

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house, which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabafus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But besides that we do not find the name of Artabafus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak, was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

(a) He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. (b) He began his reign

(a) A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. (b) Memnos in Excerptis Photii, c. 32.

reign by putting his mother and brother to death ; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it.

(c) Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

(d) Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her, The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to chuse whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition ; but the real motive of it was to check the enterprizes of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting gave umbrage to the Romans. (e) Sylla executed his commission the following year ; and after having defeated a great number of Cap-

(c) Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. (d) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. (e) A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobastus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces *, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, receiving him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobastus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterward, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes ; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. (f) Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians ; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts, Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed, Mithridates

should

(f) Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

* This was Mithridates II.

should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

(g) Their first enterprize and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time: his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius, and M. Altinus to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot: but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the

varipus

various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war, that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer; that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned amongst his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with

with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

(b) Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them * a long discourse to animate them against the Romans. " He presented to them, that there was no room for examining whether war or peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking them first, had spared them that enquiry: That their business was to fight and conquer: That he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shewn upon so many occasions, and lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight, and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia: That there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the heart itself of Italy; when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany over-ran all Italy: That the time was come for humbling those proud Republicans, who had the same view with regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe: That for the rest †, the war

" his

(b) Justin. l. 38. c. 3—7.

* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

† Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam

seque solo Asiæ esse tempe-

ratius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut, festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.

“ his soldiers were now entering upon, was highly different from that they had sustained with so much valour in the horrid deserts, and frozen regions of Scythia : That he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country of the world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey : That Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges, had the name of Roman in horror, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers : That they followed him not so much to a war, as to assured victory, and certain spoils.” The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus ; the second by Manius Aquilius ; the third by Q. Oppius proconsul, in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kind of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities.

VOL. XII.

E

He

tium. *Justin.* — Sectio the publicans. Calumnix li-
publicanorum in this passage tium are the unjust quirks and
properly signifies the forcible chicanery, which served as pre-
sale of the goods of those, who texts for depriving the rich of
for default of payment of taxes their estates, either upon account
and imposts, had their estates of taxes, or under some other
and effects seized on and sold by colour.

He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

(i) Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times, (k) who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea, a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

(l) Mithridates considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the

(i) Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. 5. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60. (k) Plut. Sympos. l. 1. p. 624. (l) A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed *. The women, children, and domestics were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king, and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves, who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order, is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution! Four-score thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

(m) Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns) which the Jews in Asia minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

(n) All those, who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

E 2

((o) When

(m) Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

(n) Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

* Is uno die, tota Asia, tione, cives Romanos neca-
tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, dos trucidandosque denotavit,
atque una literarum significa- Cic.

(o) When he had made himself master of Asia minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

(p) Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The

(o) Plut. in Sylla, p. 458--461. Appian. in Mithridate, p. 188--197. (p) A.M. 3917. Ant. J.C. 87.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre

from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "That he was surprized he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the antient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals, without reply or delay. Truly kings, says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices, than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege he had engaged in, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the

* *Ἄντ' οἱ τε τὰς ψυχῶν βασιλῆς καὶ τὰς δαπανὰς εὐτελεῖς ὄντες.*

the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans. So that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general salley; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it; *To-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp.* Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having

ing propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardor on both sides, but the Romans at length were obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds sterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your antient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt.

During this audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter
called

called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus one of his generals arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where

Hortensius

* *The public place at Athens.*

Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at a view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops. For when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their entrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments: the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosse's, under pretence of their better security, but in effect, that
when

when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for some time: but when he saw their ardor increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves with a great body of troops of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena, whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend their horse, and light armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprized and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted, and made a great slaughter of them: the rest,

rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broke; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand, removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted amongst them the heavy armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing,

seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against * Murena; whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should fasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

(9) To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the Musick games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring

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(9) A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85.

* *Chalcaspides*.

bouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes ; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods, should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest) had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived * at the city of Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Bœotia, and had possessed himself of the whole country in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had lately lost ; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew, that the advice he had given him, was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosse's to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say*

* In Thessaly.

say it was at Orebomenus. They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops, who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But from the fear, that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precautions of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

(r) He was not more successful in Asia himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruized in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal

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glory,

(r) Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493.
Appian. p. 204---210.

glory, by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states, where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the publick good, least they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprizing, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the provinces had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his, did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journies by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a compleat general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war *. Let young warriors consider

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpsit, Sed

incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usûs disciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. *Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 2.*

consider this with due attention ; and observe in what manner the Great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chose to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety ; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those, who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition, to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief ; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced, when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to re-pass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates ; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery, in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared

the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him: "If
 " being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a Barbarian
 " king, you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of
 " your master, how dared you propose the abandoning the
 " interests of the republic to such a Roman as me? Do
 " you imagine our condition and affairs to be equal? Have
 " you forgot my victories? Do you not remember, that you
 " are the same Archelaus I have defeated in two battles,
 " and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of
 " Orchomenus?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: "That Mithridates
 " should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia: That he should
 " restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: That he should pay the Romans two thousand
 " talents (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling) for
 " the expences of the war, and seventy armed galleys, with
 " their whole equipage; and that Sylla, on his side, should
 " secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause
 " him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions; and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him, that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone:

"What

"What say you? Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, for having only left him the hand with which he butchered an hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note, when I go over to Asia; though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time, that he would not talk such language, had he been present in the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him, that Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

(s) Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of Phillippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes: and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suplicants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and

and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprized at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces ; and afterwards presenting the kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy of Rome, and who in one day had caused an hundred thousand Roman citizens dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops, superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy ; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself ; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. * But what

* *Vix quidquam in Syllæ Italiâ obsiderent, neque illo operibus clarius duxerim, laturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus Cinnarum Marianarum partes omisit ; existimavitque*

ante

is most to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand * talents, and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four † drachmas a day, and entertain a table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty || drachmas, and besides that a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

(t) After

ante frangendum hostem, cisset, superaret quod erat do-
quam ulciscendum civem; mesticum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. 2.
repulsoque externo metu, c. 2.
ubi quod alienum esset vi-

* About three millions sterling.

† About two shillings.

|| About five and twenty shillings.

(1) After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependance, those heirs, apprehending those works would be taken from them, they thought proper to hide them in a vault under-ground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That
copy

(1) Plut. in Syl. p. 468; Strab. l. 13. p. 609. Athen. l. 3. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public: the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECT. II. *Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.*

(u) **SYLLA**, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him, for whom Cicero made the fine oration, which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. The first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy, which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bos-

(u) A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 213--216.

Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe, his designs were against the the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands, and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

(x) There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as mere collusion. And indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

(y) Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes: he obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons of

(x) A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.
Ant. J. C. 81.

(y) A. M. 3923.

of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and raillying : fit objects of emulation ! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

(x) Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

(a) The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and mo-

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(x) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. (a) A. M. 3928.
Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 589,
581.

ney to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprize, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend no just right to dispose; but that he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect: That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates on his side, should pay Sertorius * three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys.

The

About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic, obscured the splendor and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

(b) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

(c) Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers: he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned; assembled an

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hundred

(b) A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian de Bello Mithrid. p. 175. (c) Plut. in Lucul. p. 469.

Hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides an hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms offensive and defensive; and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

(d) The two consuls Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia and Cappadocia for his province; the other Bithynia and the Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told, that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships with their whole compliments; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured:

to

(d) A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to a revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

(c) Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began, by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory, that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines.

G 3

(c) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497
499. Appian. p. 219--222.

machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means, that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far, as to support themselves upon human flesh. (f) Mithridates *, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not have had much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches, and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them, and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and

(f) A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 72.

* Cum totius impetus belli perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt ad Cyzicenorum mœnia consistisset, eamque urbem sibi sociorum defenderetur, ut Mithridates Asiæ januam fore omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. putavisset, qua effracta & revulsa, tota pateret provincia: Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet *, beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming, and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent: reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He

* Ab eodem imperatore valem ad Tenedum, cum classem magnam & ornatam, tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, superatam esse atque depresso. *Cic. pro lege Manili. n. 21.* parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? *Id. pro Muræna.*

Quid? Illam pugnam na- n. 33.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for * only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his antient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: "That is directly
 " what I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose,
 " in order that our enemy may take new courage, and as-
 " semble so numerous an army, as may embolden him to
 " expect us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do
 " you not observe, that he has behind him immense soli-
 " tudes and infinite desarts, in which it will be impossible
 " for us either to come up with or pursue him? Armenia

is

" is but a few days march from these deserts. There Ti-
 " granes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose pow-
 " er is so great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports
 " whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has
 " made himself master of Syria and Palestine, extermi-
 " nated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried
 " their wives and daughters into captivity. This power-
 " ful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do
 " you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppli-
 " ant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against
 " us? Hence in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we
 " shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our
 " hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against
 " us, and who can never find one more specious, legiti-
 " mate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-
 " in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why
 " therefore should we serve Mithridates against ourselves,
 " or shew him to whom he should have recourse for the
 " means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him,
 " against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks
 " upon such a step as unworthy his valour and greatness,
 " into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not in-
 " finitely better, by giving him time to take courage, and
 " strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only
 " upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians
 " and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than
 " to expose ourselves to having the additional force of the
 " Armenians and Medes to contend with?"

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have
 mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new
 army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left
 the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to
 Murena, the son of him we have spoken of before, whom
 Cicero represents in a very favourable light. * " He went
 into

* *Asiam istam refertam & ut in ea neque avaritiæ, ne-
 eandem delicatam, sic oblit, que luxuriæ vestigium reli-
 querit.*

“into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures,
 “where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or
 “luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important
 “war, that he did many great actions without the general,
 “the general none without him.” Lucullus marched
 against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of
 Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but
 was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly with-
 out either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single
 horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one
 of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the fly-
 ing crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Ro-
 mans were so near him, that they almost had him in their
 hands, and it was owing entirely to themselves that they
 did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them
 a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many
 toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the
 sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says * Cicero,
 artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the
 pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That
 princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus her bro-
 ther in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places
 through

querit. Maximo in bello sic
 est versatus, ut hic multas res
 & magnas sine imperatore
 gesserit, nullam sine hoc im-
 perator. *Cic. pro Muræna,*
n. 20.

* Ex suo regno sic Mithri-
 dates profugit, ut ex eodem
 Ponto Medea illa quondam pro-
 fugisse dicitur: quam præ-
 dicant, in fuga, fratris sui
 membra in iis locis, qua se
 parens persequeretur, dissipavisse,
 ut eorum collectio dis-
 persa mærorum patrius cele-

ritatem persequendi retarda-
 ret. Sic Mithridates fugiens
 maximam vim auri atque ar-
 genti, pulcherrimarumque re-
 rum omnium, quas & à ma-
 joribus acceperat, & ipse bello
 superiore ex tota Asia direptas
 in suum regnum congefserat in
 Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc
 dum nostri colligunt omnia
 diligentius, rex ipse è mani-
 bus effugit. Ita illum in per-
 sequendi studio mærorum, hos
 lætitia retardavit. *Cic. de*
leg. Manil. n. 22.

through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief of so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates, in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cahiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of these castles a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Amongst the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: he sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with
the

the splendor of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of an husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further, than to leave them at liberty to chuse the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out: *Ab fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!* Then throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice she took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of
with-

withdrawing from the indignities, their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates : but having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly, and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him ; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. (g) Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain ; and to encrease his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an antient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers, held under the most dreadful oppression ; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that

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slavery,

(g) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand * talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over : but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had ran it up to an hundred and twenty thousand † talents ; so that they still owed tripple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus || has reason to say, that usury was one of the most antient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition ; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent* : hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnis* ; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent*. was paid : *uncia* is the twelfth part of an whole.

(b) The † law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve *per cent*. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

(i) Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome ; *semunciarum fœnus*.

(k) At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree : *ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. § Avarice was always too strong for the laws : and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under

(b) Tacit. Annal. l. 6. c. 16. Liv. l. 7. n. 16.

(i) Ibid. n. 17.

(k) Ibid. n. 42.

* About three millions sterling.

† Nequis unciario fœnore

† About eighteen millions

amplius exerceto.

sterling.

§ Multis plebiscitis obviam

|| Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre
malum, & seditionum dis-
cordiarumque creberrima cau-
sa. Tacit. Annal. l. 6. c. 16,

itam fraudibus : quæ toties
repressæ, miras per artes rur-
sum oriebantur. Tacit. ibid.

under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because God, having forbade any, she never believed, she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder, which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation ; which he could only effect, by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him ; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive, and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint-forces of Tigranes and Mitbridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.*

(1) **TIGRANES**, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes,

H 2

of

(1) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504--512. Memn. c. 48--57. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228--232.

of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites, he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity, that had never known any irruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendor he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterised his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaints, which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates, and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned

heads.

heads. He never appeared in publick without having four kings attending him ; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad : at table, in his chamber, in short, every where he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him ; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprizing, that a prince of this character, should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It is the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five and twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife ; that the union between them was of too strict a nature, to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus ; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprize seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independant cities. (m) Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt al-

most the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *Latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of the winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. No body dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands, of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy, unwholesome places. (n) But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured them-

selves

selves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him; *And for you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, in regard to your master's demands?* Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity: *As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This
city

city was full of all sorts of riches ; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king : for this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour ; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry, in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and Barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle ; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear

clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army, was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable and a fine raillier, used an expression, which has been much admired; *If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few.* Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh: *Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away.* Taxilus replied, *I wish your majesty's good fortune*
may

may this day do a miracle in your favour ; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away.

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legions move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, *How ! Are these people coming to us !* They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre ; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of * Cæpio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous : *And for me, I'll make this an happy day for the Romans.* It was the sixth of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass made in the form of scales, which glittered surprizingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at distance with their arrows ; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Per-

* *The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cæpio.*

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, *The victory is ours, fellow soldiers, the victory is ours.* At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unweildy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin till they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son the com-
nion

nion of his fortune, he took off his diadem weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: on the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates, when he was strongest and most formidable, and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small days journies to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the

the officers that served him, and revived his hopes : so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta ; the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers ; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.) Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred * drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

(s) As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

(p) If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so, was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

I

After

(s) Strab. l. II. p. 532. & l. 12. p. 539.

(p) Dion. Caf. l. 35. p. 1.

* About twenty pounds.

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After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered, that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprize against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to * Arsaces king of the Parthians.*

“ ALL those †, who in a state of prosperity, are invited
 “ to enter as confederates into a war, ought first
 “ to consider, whether peace be at their own option; and
 “ next,

* *Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.*

† Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent,

liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod quæritur, satispium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetuâ pace frui liceret, nisi hostes

“ next, whether what is demanded of them, is consistent
 “ with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You
 “ might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not
 “ the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war,
 “ and intirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans,
 “ you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem in-
 “ consistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with
 “ Tigranes, or powerful as you are, that you should join a
 “ prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance,
 “ that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes
 “ upon account of his late war with you, and the no ad-
 “ vantagious situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of
 “ them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support
 “ it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you
 “ just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty,
 “ whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon
 “ him; and for me, I can say, that fortune, by having
 “ deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to
 “ give others good counsels, and, which is much to be de-
 “ sired in persons of prosperity, I can, even from my own
 “ misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you
 “ to take better measures than I have done. For do not
 “ deceive yourself, it is with all the nations, states, and
 “ kings of the earth, the Romans are at war; and two
 “ motives, as antient as powerful, put their arms into
 I 2 “ their

hostes opportuni & scelestissimi.
 Egredia fama si Romanos
 oppresseris, futura est.
 Neque petere audeam socie-
 tatem, & frustra mala mea
 cum tuis bonis misceri spe-
 rem. Atqui ea, quæ te mo-
 rari posse videntur, ira in
 Tigranem recentis belli, &
 meæ res parum prosperæ, si
 vera æstumare voles, maxi-
 mē hortabuntur. Ille enim

obnoxius, qualem tu voles
 societatem accipiet: mihi for-
 tuna, multis rebus ereptis,
 usum dedit bene suadendi, &
 quod florentibus optabile est,
 ego non validissimus præbeo
 exemplum, quo rectius tua
 componas. Namque Romanis
 cum nationibus, populis, re-
 gibus cunctis, una & ea vetus
 causa bellandi est, cupido pro-
 funda imperij & divitiarum.--

“ their hands; the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches.” Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: “ Examine * now, I beg you, when we are finally ruined, whether

* Nunc quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrum firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, & auri esse: & ea re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterum consilium est Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam à principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Convenas, olim sine patriâ, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, procul, juxtaque sitos, inopes, potentesque trahant, excidentque; omniaque non serva, & maxime

regna, hostilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti fumus æmuli, & in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, & postea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, accerrima in eos quibus spolia maxima sunt. Audendo & fallendo, & bella ex bellis ferendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia ut occident: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicië nostra unum imperium probare, quam societate victor fieri.

“ whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans,
“ or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to
“ my country ? I know you are powerful in men, in arms,
“ and treasure ; it is therefore We desire to strengthen
“ ourselves by your alliance ; They, to grow rich by your
“ spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Tigranes to avoid
“ drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go
“ with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined,
“ to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy
“ in person in their own country. We cannot therefore
“ either conquer or be conquered, without your being in
“ danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when
“ they found themselves stopped by the ocean on the west,
“ turned their arms this way ? That to look back to their
“ foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have
“ from violence, home, wives, lands, and dominions. A
“ vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country,
“ without forefathers, they established themselves for the
“ misfortune of human race. Neither divine nor human
“ laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their
“ allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak
“ or the powerful. They reckon all enemies, that are not
“ their slaves ; and especially, whatever bears the name of
“ king. For few nations affect a free and independant go-
“ vernment ; the generality prefer just and equitable ma-
“ sters. They suspect us, because we are said to emulate
“ their power, and may in time avenge their oppressions.
“ But for you, who have Selucia, the greatest of cities,
“ and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms,
“ what can you expect from them, but deceit at present,
“ and war hereafter ? The Romans are at war with all
“ nations ; but especially with those, from whom the
“ richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great
“ by enterprizing, betraying, and by making one war bring
“ forth another. By this means they will either destroy all
“ others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be diffi-
“ cult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia,
“ and we, on that of Armenia, surround their army, with-

“ out provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their
 “ arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have
 “ not been so prudent to understand this common enemy,
 “ and to ally ourselves against him. It will be for your
 “ immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to
 “ have conquered and destroyed these robbers of the world.
 “ This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; that
 “ you may chuse rather to share with us by a salutary
 “ alliance, in conquering the common enemy, than to suf-
 “ fer the Roman empire to extend itself universally by our
 “ ruin.”

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

(q) One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recal Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. (r) Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom of right it appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

(s) The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to chuse an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them;
 to

(q) Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.

(r) Justin.

l. 40. c. 2.

(s) A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut.

in Lucul. p. 513--515.

to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

(*t*) Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached with its train of snows and storms, the † soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed mount

Taurus,

(*r*) Dion. Caf. l. 37. p. 3---7.

* Or *Arsania*.

† Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, & præliis usus erat se-

cundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum, commovebatur. *Cir. pro lege Mur. n. 23.*

Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to shew itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far, as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaritious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of the

* Mithridates & suam matrem qui se ex ejus regno col-
nuam jam confirmarat, & eo- legerant, & magnis adventitiis
multorum

the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people, for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. * So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

(u) Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and

(u) A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

multorum regum & nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes allicient ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. *Cic. pro Leg. Manil. n. 24.*

* Itaque tantum victus ef-

ficere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. — *Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.*

and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes *, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment: which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

SECT. IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

MANIUS Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus

* *Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.*

Pontus for his province. where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

(x) It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest: I mean, address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences, and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves, that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprized to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had

(x) Dion. Cas. l. 35. p. 7.

* In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii

diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavit, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. *Ibid.* n. 26.

had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbid them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. (y) Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the Pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives, as had been granted him in the war against the Pirates: that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycæonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, that included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph, than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern. They were well

(y) A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66, Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. 36. p. 70.

well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, intitled, *For the law of Manilius*. After having demonstrated in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: "Virtues, by so much the more necessary, says he, as the * Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. † Instead of which, the wise, moderate, and

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* Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio sumus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. *Num. 61.*

† Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fu-

isse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus ceteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos cum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. *Id. n. 41.*

“irreproachable conduct of Pompey, will make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterest of those antient Romans is real and true; and that it was not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others.”

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

(2) We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself, that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate

conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

(a) Pompey, who had lately terminated the war with the Pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out as if oppressed by and sorry for that new command; *Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?*

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others, and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him. And his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing, was to let the partisans of Lucullus see, that they adhered to a man, who had neither authority nor

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power.

(a) A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634--636. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 22--25. Appian p. 238.

power. (b) Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates, for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessors had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies, who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess, as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the Great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness

Titeneſs and generoſity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long-conteſted.

(c) It was he that firſt brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Ceraſus, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman intereſt. He has been ſpoken of already, and is the ſame, who was ſurnamed *the God*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace alſo to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himſelf ſure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not ſo much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed, that Pompey had prevented him, he ſent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he ſhould lay down his arms, and give up all deſerters: thoſe propoſals were very near occaſioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deſerters in it, they could not ſuffer any thing to be ſaid upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the reſt of the army conſent to ſee themſelves weakened by the loſs of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had ſent his ambaffadors only to inſpect into the condition of the Roman army; and to ſwear, that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on thoſe or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having diſtributed his fleet in different ſtations, to guard the whole ſea between Phœnicia and the Boſphorus, marched by land againſt Mithridates, who had ſtill thirty thouſand foot, and two or three thouſand horſe; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very ſtrongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and conjecturing from the nature of the plants, and other ſigns, that there was abundance of ſprings within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an inſtant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not ſufficiently wonder how

Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight * leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such intreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed them above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and

war-

* 150 Stadia.

warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicles (*d*), by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress, where the king's treasures, and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

(*e*) That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head; promising an hundred * talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates, who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the
place

(*d*) *Ultra fœminam ferox. Tacit.*

(*e*) *Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 25, 26.*

* *An hundred thousand crowns.*

place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors, sent to him by Mithridates, into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied: that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man, whom none could conquer; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When

* Mox ipse supplex & præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permittit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam,

cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei inhonestè alicquem summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. *Vol. Paterc. l. 2. c. 37.*

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When he arrived on horseback near the entrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lieutenants came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lieutenants; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after referred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited his father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not shewed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference, as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not however entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his antient kingdom Armenia major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree, which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his designs, ordered him to be always kept in view; and upon his
abso-

* About 900000 l. sterling.

absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards, having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, That the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty * drachmas, a † thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each ‖ tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

(f) After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northward in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the ‡ Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him: but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

(g) The

(f) Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 28--33. Appian. p. 24. 245.

* About 22 s.
250 l. sterling.

† About 25 l. sterling.

‡ Called Cynus also by some authors.

‖ About

(g) The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the questors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace, upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his sons named Machares. But that young prince

prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus king of Comagena. He went into Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlosyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant-generals. (b) Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who by Lucullus's permission had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus, was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory;

(b) Appian, in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. 40. c. 2.

history; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. (i) In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemæus Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

(k) Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

(l) A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time: a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have * persisted in refusing the scepter, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has in-

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stanced

(i) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. (k) Plut. in
Pomp. p. 638, 639. (l) Val. Max. l. 5. c. 7.

* Nec ullum finem tam tas Pompeii adfuisse. Val.
egregium certamen habuisset Max.
hisi patriæ voluntati auctori

stanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in consequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendring that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the Strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, wrote by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

(*m*) His memoirs of Physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenzæus, a good grammarian, one of his freed-men; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he, who invented the excellent anti-

(*m*) Plin. l. 25. c. 20.

dote,

5, 6
36,

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note, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

(n) Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprize, in which he would have run great risque of perishing. So that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner, as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardor into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red-Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed, there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red-Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia upon the Orontus free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red-Sea. But an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

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(n) A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639--641. Dio. Caf. l. 37. p. 342, 36. App. p. 246--251.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a mean-ness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the antient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, that subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated; and now fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interest during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and

and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him, who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to the son, in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took the advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to sollicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always

credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the Pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he revolved in his mind.

But as to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries, now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po: the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into such a terror, that to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived, that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

(o) Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the

poison

poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by express dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those express arriving with their lances crowned with lawrels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero

* Vir neque filendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus, virtute eximius: aliquando fortuna semper animo maximus; consiliis dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal, *Vcl. Patere.* l. 2. c. 18.

Cicero says of Mithridates; that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings : (p) *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing ; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings ; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress ; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again upon the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general ; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first ; but against generals, without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear that he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders, and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

(q) Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence, to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him ;

(p) Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 8. (q) A. M. 3941.
Ant. J. C. 63. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 4, 8. & de Bell. Jud.
1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dio. Cass.
l. 36. p. 35 & 36.

him ; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy, who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents ; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those, to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept : his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold ; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas, (about 37 l. sterling) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum, to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents ; that is to say, about two million, four hundred thousand pounds ; besides which, he had twenty thousand more, (three millions) to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

(r) His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot : amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus ; Olthaces king of

of Colchos; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia; the sister; five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, scepter, and gold busto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article contains the history of thirty-five years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolomæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

SECT. I. Ptolomæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother very young, succeed him.

(1) **W**E have seen in what manner Ptolomæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time, to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to shew that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance;

and

(1) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 63. Vol. XI.

and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it had been a very unsecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects, which do not suit their condition; though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *slayer on the flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

(t) He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome, at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price, he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

(u) Though

(t) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dio. Cass. l. 39. p. 97. Strab. l. 17. p. 796.

(u) Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus, as an antient appanage of Egypt, and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

(x) Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of the Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty, that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprized, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not
scruple

(u) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58.
Cato Utic p. 776.

(x) Plut. in

scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed, in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city reduced to sollicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

(y) Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

(z) But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead as they
 Vol. XII. M believed,

(y) Dio. Cass. l. 39. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. 33. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piso. n. 48--50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

(z) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than an hundred persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: and his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius the Stoic philosopher was the first in it, who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought, that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

Mithridates, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence,

quence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

(a) In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported: *If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: but however, you shall not give him any troops. For if you do, you will suffer and hazard much.*

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited to the people, and obliged them by the authority, which his office of tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar, which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of preconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. No body doubted, but that it had been contrived for the

M 2

present

(a) A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the Assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reason, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force a person of great authority. And Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. (b) The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbid by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went however with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice;

(b) Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

vice ; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus. " You are the best judge, says he, as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own and the honour of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place ; in order, that after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. * In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity, upon which Cicero valued himself ? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprize, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented : " That all † the world would judge of his conduct from the event : that therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."

M 3

Gabinus,

* Ita fore ut per te restitueretur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit ; & sine multitudinem reducat, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

† Ex eventu homines de

tuo consilio esse judicatu, videmus — Nos quidem hoc sentimus ; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum ; sin dubium non esse conandum.

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Tho' every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. (c) He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the ensuing year. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprize, the more right Gabinus thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinus accepted the offer without hesitation.

(d) Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had

(c) A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120, & in Parth. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

(d) Strab. l. 12. p. 538. Id. l. 17. p. 794, & 796. Dio. l. 39. p. 115--117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: They brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, first named Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was, to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

(e) Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium. For they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth, as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory, which possessed Antony. For Ptolemy was no sooner entered Pelusium, than out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only

(e) Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinus received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time in consequence for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expence of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans, who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinus left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy, which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons, who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinus, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

(f) The

(f) The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring. But some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinus, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

(g) Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, tho' one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To compleat his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having shared in the money, which Gabinus brought from thence, with whom it was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

(b) Ptolemy

(f) Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.
Rabir. Posth.

(g) Cic. pro

(b) Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age,) he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. (i) We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

SECT. II. Pothinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.

(k) **L**ITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the

(b) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæsar de bello civ. l. 3.

(i) Eutrop. l. 6.

(k) A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48.

Plut. in Pomp. p. 639--662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731.

Appian. de bell. civ. p. 480--484. Cæs. de bell. civ. l. 3.

Dio. l. 42. p. 200--206.

the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra in the king's name of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine, to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make. Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of three unworthy persons, that governed the prince than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods, and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship,
and

and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt : for, said he, according to the proverb, *Dead men don't bite.*

This advice carried it, as being in their sense the wisest and most safe. Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it in execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death ; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, *Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before,* he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed men gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before hey eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea : This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him ; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest

rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant generals with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. * As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very high paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle, that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the life, and do services to some citizen, who had born arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar perceiving, that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the

N

money

* Cæsar confusus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. *Cæs.*

money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and had been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder. Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen, or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate; in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independant, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then vested in his person, in quality of consul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister.

sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive, than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those she employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took no body with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding, that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of cloaths. Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person, had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly, that his judge was become his adversary; and having learnt that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters

of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been over-powered, and torn to pieces by that ferocious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it : from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra, into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will ; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoë the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people ; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury ; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making that concession.

(1) The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend, that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force and through fear, which would not long subsist ; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw, that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had twenty thousand good troops,

despised

despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him in consequence from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the Quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops, which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number, till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works.

works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be accused, of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was

* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. Thevenot's travels.

was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there was no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications, with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar, to be stopp'd up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and rais'd such a tumult, that he would have been oblig'd to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinus had sent by sea, was arriv'd upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet, to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escap'd.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and form'd a new fleet, with which he enter'd the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climb'd in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of
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the gods. The All of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left, if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the Isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship, in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people, who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians seeing, that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince, to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils, with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him by giving him his liberty; and to shew his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. * Pro-

lemy,

* Regius animus disciplinis rem cæpit, ne se demitteret: fallacissimis eruditus, ne à non enim regnum ipsum sibi gentis suæ moribus degenera- conspectu Cæsaris esse jucun- ret, fletu orare contra Cæsa- dius. *Hiro, de Bell. Alex.*

lemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

(*m*) He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he soon formed a considerable army. Antipater the Idumæan contributed very much towards it. He not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœlosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy

Antipater detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way: but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a compleat victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion, which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

(n) Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused

(n) Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest sollicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoë, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence; at least it was there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven with the decree confirming them.

(c) What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of this conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

(c) Plut in Cæs. p. 731.

* This was a city of Cappadocia;

SECT. III. *Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.*

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. (p) When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval, Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators; at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; and the Triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

(q) Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the Triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul Dolabella's lieu-

(p) A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv. 4. Porphy. p. 226. (q) Appian. l. 3. p. 576. l. 4. p. 623. l. 5. p. 675.

lieutenant, four legions; which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. (r) Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

(s) Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the Triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed, that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependance of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra, having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, enflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes, that she could also very easily captivate Antony: and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world; whereas she was going to appear before Antony at an age, wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the

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greatest

(r) A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. (s) A. M. 3963.
Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926. 927. Diod. l. 48.
p. 371. Appian. de bell. civ. l. 5. p. 671.

greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five and twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, haut-boys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him, but his sisters and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade, to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself; and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not

to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendor as disposition of the feast, and was the first to railly the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuosity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time, he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

(t) Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still out-did that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom,

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had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts, happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested according to custom upon Antony's table, as very indifferently served and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend * more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed, that she only boasted, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence; demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I can't spend a million only upon myself. † A second table was brought, and according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it, but a single cup of vinegar. Antony surprized at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into || the vinegar, and after having made it melt, swallowed

* Centies H-S. Hoc est centies centena millies sester-tium. Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52500 l. sterling

† The antients changed their tables at every course.

|| Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things. Aceti succus

domitor rerum, as Pliny says of it, l. 33. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the
sole

swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other. * Plancus stopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

(u) Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness; treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences: which may be judged from the following circumstance.

(x) A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprize at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all: but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. For, added he, it often happens, that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into

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some

(u) A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40. (x) Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

sole pleasure of making the expence of his meals enormous. Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ, Scilicet ut decies solidum exforberet, aceto Diluit insignem bacam. Hor. l. 2. Sat. 5.

* This other pearl was af-

terwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

some conversation, that diverts him. For that reason not one, but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat.

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times, with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprize at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, *Leave the line, good general to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings.*

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death,

death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. (y) But having began his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

(z) This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning, and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. (a) She knew besides several other languages; whereas the kings, who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were
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(y) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. (z) A. M. 3966.
Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphan. de mens. & pond. (a) Plut.
in Anton. p. 927.

no less offended at the excessive honours, which he paid this foreign princefs.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

(b) It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broke in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. *Is it true*, said that prince at table, talking of this story, *that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?* If it were, replied the veteran with a smile, *I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person, who made the first attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper.*

(c) Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to join Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra: and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with cloaths, and great sums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly per-

(b) Plin. l. 33. c. 23. (c) A. M. 3969. Ant.
J. C. 35. Plut. in Anton. p. 239--242.

perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to die for love of Antony; and with that view, made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprize and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no further, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried, she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would neither permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony, than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests.

She

She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved, and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

(d) It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

(e) After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets,

seeing

(d) A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34.

(e) A. M. 3971.

Ant. J. C. 33.

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ætione petiit: & promissum antonio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum impe-

tonius. Flor. l. 4. c. 11.

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seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimitar after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones; he had a diadem on his brows, and a scepter of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe, made of the precious linnen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cælosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes Kings of Kings, and declared till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries, over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a

train

train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians; and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions, to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: She, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, might have learnt in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed the time in feasting and pleasure. The kings, in their train, exhausted themselves, in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

(f) It

(f) It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened, related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly well knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquets, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible, how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the antients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him: *I am the prisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action.* Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem, Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

(g) The new consuls, Cajus Soffius, and Domitius Æneobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæfar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree, and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæfar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæfar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side: for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæfar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies, sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave no body in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with tears; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæfar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty

(g) A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton.
P. 942--955.

petty differences ; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it ; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war ; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope, that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by (b) two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care ; alledging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe ; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsar the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of Kings of Kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt ?

P 2

When

(b) Titius and Plancus.

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, tho' actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea, might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for compleatly manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do service.

On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That

* queen,

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* queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendor was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

(i) Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Antony's bravest

P 3

and

(i) A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

* Dum Capitolio

Regina dementes ruinas,

Fusus & imperio parabat

Contaminato cum grege turpium

Morbo virorum: quidlibet impotens

Sperare, fortunaque dulci

Ebria.

HOR. Od. 37. l. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's beady wine,

Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,

The baughsy queen conceives the wild design,

So much her vain ambition charms,

With her polluted band of supple slaves,

Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,

The Capitol in dust to level low,

[blow !

And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal

and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas, a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied upon. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it, without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships, than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

* The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in the sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian Squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The

* *The 4th before the nones of September.*

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The next day Cæsar seeing his victory compleat, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Antony, having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it ; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage ; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and two and twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious ; and no sooner landed, than

* *Promontory of Laconia.*

than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

(k) Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who she foresaw would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her designs.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person, to adorn his triumph; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly

precisely on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement, it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation, not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment; and that those, which were gentle, brought an easy, but slow death; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; and which, throwing the person bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life;

life ; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary sollicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendor and magnificence, above what she had ever instanced before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him, not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! the most odious of vices were united in her person ; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried ; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a funeral

neral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally, and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him; he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited, without making any motion, to see the success of that attack: but was much astonished, when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him, of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signalizing himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artificial princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor, in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with
that

that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know, that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprize; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her cloaths upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; and that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour, to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Caesar's train,
VOL. XII.

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and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had however a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar; who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers, who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprize; *Oh unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, *You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his goodness and clemency.* At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire: he instructed Proculeius at the same time, to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: The first, upon account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Ariæus one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though

she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. My lord, said she to him, pointing to those pictures, behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown. Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it; see also, said she, kissing them, the dear testimonies of his love. She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances; but she employed those arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in revenge she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt.

And

And in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows on the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, Is it not a horrible thing, said she to him, that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some woman's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved: and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse, as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there appeared so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

* That princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels

* *Aufa & jacentem visere regiath
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberatâ morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens*

ALEXANDER'S Successors. 175

wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the asp glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred four-score and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681, to 3974.

Privata deduci superbo

Non humilis mulier triumpho.

HOR. Od. 37. lib. I.

*Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,
That can both death and fear controul;
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side.
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.*

Conclusion

Conclusion of the antient history.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and antient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states, separate, and in a manner entirely distinct, from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembred, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms, which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it: height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the Natural and the True; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which
astonish

astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them, but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him: *he seeth from everlasting to everlasting (l)*. He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue, which Nebuchodnosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? *(m) A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them, and the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who descended to cloath himself with flesh and blood.

(l) Eccles. xxxix. 19.

(m) Dan. c. ii. v. 34, 35.

blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility ; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us : *(n) He went forth conquering and to conquer.* His work and mission are, *to set up a kingdom for his father, which shall never be destroyed ; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people ; like those of which we have seen in the history ; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. *(o) All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.* He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

While

(n) Apoc. vi. 2.

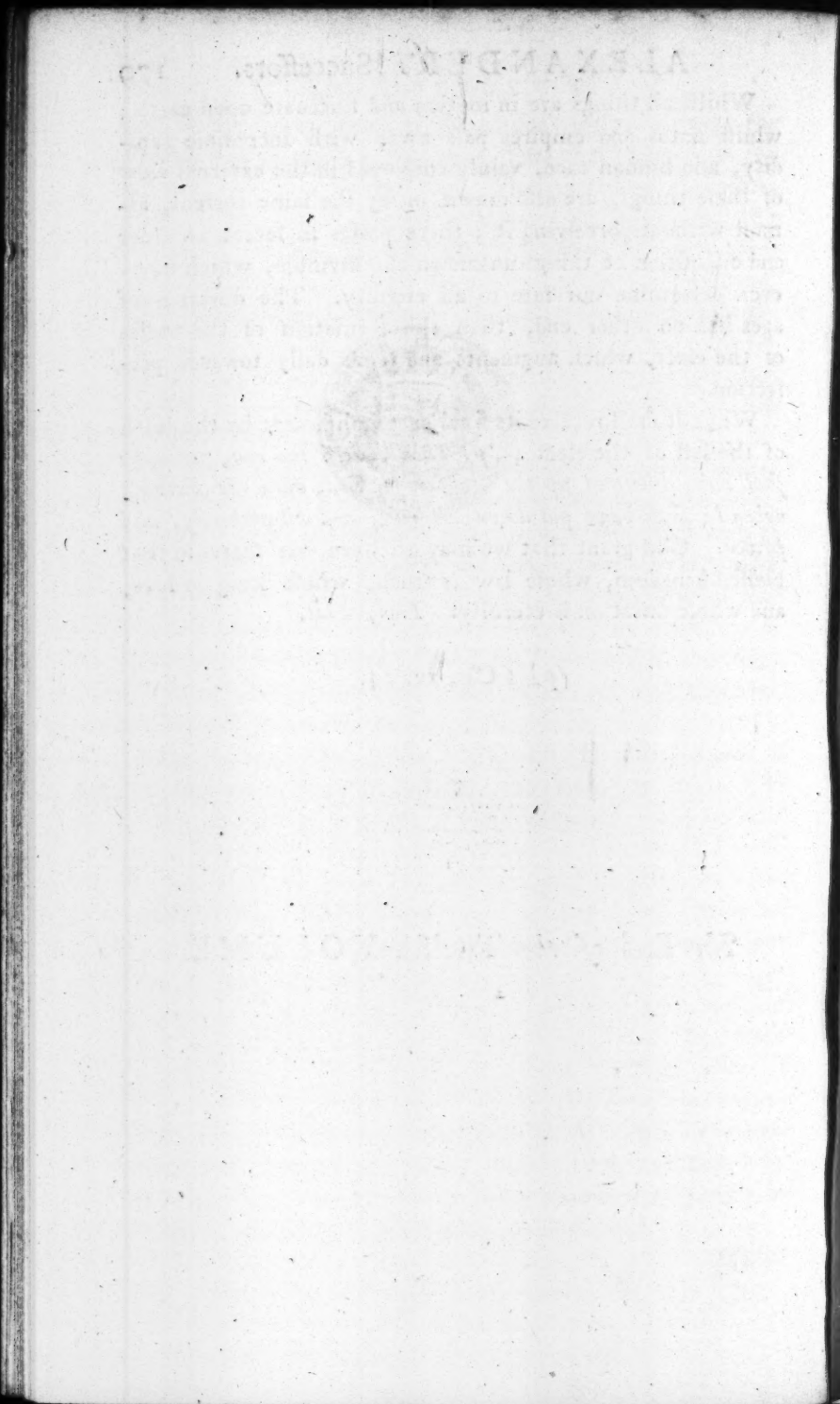
(o) Matth. xxviii. 18.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth ; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it ; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end, than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection.

When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect ; (p) *Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.* God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose king is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

(p) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

The End of the Twelfth VOLUME.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.



CHRONOLOGY is the Knowledge of Times. It shews to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox, and another of the same denomination the next year; for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days, five hours and forty-nine minutes.

The lunar year is composed of twelve lunar months, each consisting of twenty-nine days, twelve hours and forty-four minutes; in all 354 days, eight hours and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed Civil or Political.

Tho' nations may not agree among themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's; they however generally use the solar year in *Chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations; but the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days, to make them agree with the solar; which reconcile them with each other, or if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year, in which a fact has happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred.

These are called *Epochs*, from a Greek word which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, in order to avoid Anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which produce confusion of times.

The choice of such events, as may serve for Epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of history may take those as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the numeration of such years is called an *Æra*. There are almost as many *Æras* as there have been different nations. The principal are those of *the World*, of *Jesus Christ*, of the *Olympiads*, and of *Rome*. I should gladly have used all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my history; but the narrow compass of pages confines me to the two most famous, that of *the World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows that *the Olympiads* derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her Epoch for computing her years. By *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years complete, being the time elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins according to Usher, in the summer of the year of *the World* 3228, before Christ 776. When the period of an event is reckoned by the *Olympiads*, authors say the first, second, or third year of such an Olympiad; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years from this *Epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or from the foundation of the city. The

The *Julian period* is also a noted *Æra* in *Chronology*, chiefly used for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use : but first I must give the reader an idea of the three *Cycles* of which it is composed.

By the word *Cycle*, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The *Solar Cycle* is a term of twentyeight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of twentyeight years the seven first letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return to the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fiftytwo weeks, there would be no change in the order of the Dominical letters ; but as it has a day more, and two in leapeyear, this produces all the variations, included in the space of twenty eight years, of which the *Solar Cycle* consists.

The *Lunar Cycle*, called also the *Golden Number*, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and an half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the *Cycle*, to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the Epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Beside these two *Cycles*, chronologers admit a third called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is named the *first Indiction*, the second the *second Indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first.

The first *Indiction* is generally supposed to have began three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles: for example, as the vulgar *Æra* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*, if that number is divided by 28, what remains * after the division, shews the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated that the three numbers which express these three *Cycles*, cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year when the three cycles began, of which it is composed, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years, supposing the creation to precede the vulgar *Æra* only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it agrees with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided chronologers as to the space of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. Some believe that only 4004 years are to be reckoned before *Christ*; others give more extent to that space: these variations disappear when the *Julian period* is used, for all agree as to the year in which it began, and that the first year of the vulgar *Æra* falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the *Julian period* there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

Tis easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year of the vulgar *Æra* of the world: for as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that *Æra* 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the *Æra* of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* answering to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673; if to that

* I say what remains, and elapsed since the beginning of not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of Cycles the period, and what remains after the division, shews the year of the current Cycle.

TABLE.

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that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the *Julian period*, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, that all the events of the same year might be seen at one view : but not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found I should be obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have greatly lengthened the table, and swelled the work. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. As the histories of those two people is so interwove with each other, it hath very little reference to that of other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that I have hitherto avoided all chronological disputes, and he will not now expect such inquiries : I shall generally follow Archbishop Usher, who is the guide I have chose for this subject.

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CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M.

ASSYRIA.

Ant.

J. C.

1800. *Nimrod*, founder of the first Assyrian empire. 2204.

Ninus, son of *Nimrod*.

Semiramis, she reigned 42 years.

Ninyas.

The history of those Princes who reigned for thirty generations after *Ninyas* is unknown, except *Phul* and *Sardanapalus*.

TABLE.

A. M.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	187 Ant. J. C.
1816.	<i>Menes, or Mesraim,</i> first king of Egypt. <i>Bufiris.</i> <i>Osymandias.</i> <i>Ucboreus.</i> <i>Moeris.</i>		2188.
1915.		Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon.	2089
1920.	The shepherd kings seize the lower Egypt, and reign 260 years.		2084.
2084.	Abraham enters E- gypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the shepherd- kings.		1920.
2148.		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.	1856.
2179.	<i>Tetbmofis</i> expels the shepherd kings, and reigns in the Lower Egypt.		1825.
2276.	Joseph is carried in- to Egypt, and sold to Potiphar.		1728.
2298.	Jacob goes into E- gypt with his family.		1706.
2427.	<i>Rameffes - Miamum</i> begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.		1577.
2448.	<i>Cecrops</i> carries a co- lony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by <i>Cecrops</i> . He insti- tutes the Areopagus.	1556.

2494. *Amenophis*, the eldest son of *Rameses*, suc- 1510.
cedes him.

2513. The Israelites quit Egypt. *Amenophis* is 1491.
drowned in the Redsea.

Sesoftris, son and successor to *Amenophis*.
He divides Egypt into thirty nomes or govern-
ments; renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers
Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the
Iaxartes. On his return into Egypt he kills
himself after a reign of thirtythree years.

2547. *Pheron*. In his time the Nile rose above 1457.
eighteen cubits.

2800. *Proteus*. In his reign Paris is driven into 1204.
Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen.

Rhampsinitis.

Cheops.

Chephren.

Mycerinus.

Apychis.

The six preceding reigns contained 170
years, but it is hard to assign the particular
duration of each.

2991. *Pharaoh* king of Egypt gives his daughter 1013.
in marriage to Solomon.

3026. *Sesac*, otherwise called *Sefonchis*. It was 978.
with him that Jeroboam took refuge.

	TABLE.	189
A. M.	GREECE.	Ant.
		J. C.

2488. *Craneus*, successor to Cecrops. In his reign 1516.
was Deucalion's flood.

Foundation of the Lacedemonian kingdom,
Lelex is the first king.

2530. *Danaus*, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt 1474.
and retiring into the Peloponnesus, makes
himself master of Argos.

Perseus, the fifth successor to Danaus, hav-
ing unfortunately killed his grandfather, aban-
dons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycenæ.

2628. *Sisyphus*, the son of *Æolus*, makes himself 1376.
master of Corinth.

2710. The descendants of Sisyphus are expelled 1294.
Corinth by the Heraclidæ.

2720. *Ægeus*, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. 1284.
The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in
the reign of this prince.

2800. The Heraclidæ subdue the Peloponnesus, 1204.
which they are obliged to leave soon after.

2820. Troy taken by the Greeks. 1184.

2900. The Heraclidæ reinvade Peloponnesus, and 1104.
seize Sparta, where the brothers Eurysthenes
and Procles reign together.

2934. Institution of the Archons at Athens. Me- 1070.
don son of Codrus is the first.

2949. *Cadmus* builds the city of Thebes, and 1055.
makes it the seat of his government.

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.

J. C.

971.

3033. *Sesac* marches against
Jerusalem, and con-
quers Judea.

3063. *Zera* king of Egypt
makes war with *Afa*
king of Judah.

Anyfis. In his reign
Sabacus king of Ethi-
opia subdues Egypt;
reigns there 50 years,
after which he retires,
and leaves the king-
dom to *Anyfis*.

941.

3120.

Lycurgus.

884.

3160.

Homer. *Hesiod* lived

844.

about the same time.

3210.

Caranus founds the
kingdom of Macedonia.

794.

3228.

Beginning of the com-
mon *Æra* of Olympiads.

776.

3253. Foundation of Rome.

751.

I return to the chronology of Assyria, which I discontinued, because from Ninyas to about this time, nothing is known of their history.

ASSYRIA.

3233. *Pbut*, the king of Nineveh who repented 771.
upon Jonah's preaching.
3237. *Sardanapalus*, last king of the first Assyrian 767.
empire. After twenty years reign he burns
himself in his palace.

This empire subsisted above 1450 years; from which arose three others, namely the Assyrian of Babylon, the Assyrian of Nineveh, and that of the Medes.

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A. M. EGYPT. GREECE. BABYL. Ant.
J. C.

3257.

Beleſis, or 747.
Nabonazar, in
the bible called
Baladan.

3261.

First war be-
tween the Meſ-
ſenians and La-
cedemonians,
holds twenty
years.

743.

3268.

Merodach 736.
Baladan. He
ſent embaffa-
dors to Heze-
kiah. Nothing
is known of
the other kings
who reigned in
Babylon.

3280.

Archilocus
the Greek poet.

724.

3285. *Setbon*. He
reigns four-
teen years.

719.

TABLE.

A. M. NINIVEH.

MEDES.

LYDIA.

193

Ant.

J.C.

747.

3257. *Teglatb Pe-lazar.* The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz king of Judah; subdues Syria, and part of Palestine.

Arbaces governs the Medes without taking the title of king.

The *Heraclidæ* keep the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon first king began in the year 2781. His successors are little known before *Candaules*.

3269.

Salmanasar.

The 8th year of his reign he took Samaria, and made the people captive.

Candaules. 735.

3286.

Cyges. He 718. puts *Candaules* to death, and reigns in his stead.

EGYPT.
A. M.

MEDIA.

BABYL. Ant.
J. C.

3299. *Tharaca* reigns
18 years, fol-
lowed by two
years anarchy.

705.

3319. Twelve prin-
cipal lords of
Egypt seize
the kingdom,
and each go-
verns his part.

685.

3320.

Second war
between the
Lacedemonians
and Messenians,
14 years.

684.

3334. *Psamiticus*,
one of the
twelve kings,
defeats the o-
ther eleven,
and is king of
of all Egypt.

670.

He takes
Azoth in Pale-
stina after a
siege of 29
years.

TABLE.

A. M. NINEVEH.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

195

Ant.

J. C.

717.

3287. *Sennacherib.*

In the fifth
year of his
reign he makes
war against
Hezekiah
king of Judah.
An angel de-
stroys his ar-
my at the siege
of Jerusalem.
On his return
he is killed by
his own sons.

3294. *Exaraddon.*

3296.

3323. *Exaraddon,*
unites the em-
pires of Baby-
lon and Nine-
veh.

Dejoces makes

himself king of
Media.

710.

708.

681.

3324.

Death of Gy-
ges : succeeded
by his son *Ardys*. 680.
In his reign of
49 years, the
Cimmerians
take Sardis.

3327. *Exaraddon*

carries the re-
maining peo-
ple of Israel
into Assyria.
The same year
he takes Ma-
nassch in chains
to Babylon.

677.

196

CHRONOLOGICAL
EGYPT. GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

A. M.

3364.

Tyrtæus, a poet who 640,
celebrated military vir-
tue.

Thales of Miletus,
founder of the Ionic
sect.

TABLE.

A. M. Nin. & Bab.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	197
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			Ant. J. C. 669.
--	--	--	-----------------------

3335. *Saosduchin*,
or *Nebuchad-
nezzar* I. The
twelfth year of

3347. his reign he *Death of De-
defeats Phra- joces : succed-
ortes, king of ed by his son
the Medes, Pbraortes, in
and takes Ec- Judith called
batana : after Arphaxad.
which he
makes Holo-
phernes be-
siege Bethulia.*

657.

3356. *Death of
Nebuchadne-
zar : succed-
ed by Saracus,
named also
Chynaladanus.*

648.

3369.

*Phraortes be-
ing routed by
Nebuchadnezzar
is put to death.
His son Cyax-
ares reigns for-
ty years. He
beats the As-
syrians, but raises
the siege of Ni-
neveh to op-
pose the Scythi-
ans.*

635.

198
A.M.

CHRONOLOGICAL
EGYPT. GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

3380.

Draco, legislator of
Athens. 624.

3388. *Necho*, reigned sixteen years: on the seventh he defeats the king of Assyria, and takes part of his dominions. He is the Pharaoh *Necho* who attempted to join the Red-sea to the Nile.

616.

TABLE

A. M. Nin. & Bab. MEDIA. LYDIA. Ant.

199

J. C.

3373.

Sadyattes, in the sixteenth year of his reign besieges Miletus.

626.

3378. *Nabopolassar* revolts from Saracus, and seizes Babylon.

Cyaxares joins with Nabopolassar; takes Nineveh, and puts king Saracus to death.

Destruction of Nineveh. Babylon becomes the capital of Assyria.

3385.

Halyattes, continues the siege of Miletus which his father carried on six years, but ends it in six more by a treaty of peace. In his time the war between Medes and Lydians terminates in the marriage of *Cyaxares* with *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Halyattes*.

619.

200 **CHRONOLOGICAL**
A.M. EGYPT. A.D. GREECE.

Ant.
J.C.

3400.

Solon. The seven Sages of Greece and Sappho lived about this time : also Alceus, from whom the Alcaic verses take name.

3403. *Psammitis*. He reigned six years.

Institution of the 600. Olympic games by the people of Elis.

TABLE.

A. M. BABYL. MEDIA. LYDIA.

201

Ant.

J. C.

607.

3397. Nabopolazar
associates his
son Nebuchad-
nezar in the
empire ; and
sends him to
reconquer the
countries tak-
en by Necho.

3398. Jerusalem
taken by Ne-
buchadnezar.
He sends a
great number
of Jews to Ba-
bylon, and a-
mong them
the prophet
Daniel.

From hence
begins the cap-
tivity.

3399. Death of Na-
bopolazar. His
son Nebuchad-
nezar II. suc-
cedes to all his
dominions.

3403. Nebuchad-
nezar's first
dream inter-
preted by Da-
niel.

3404.

Astyages, the
the son of Cy-
axares, marries
his daughter to

606.

605.

601.

600.

3410. *Apries*, called *Pharas*
Hophra, conquers all
Phenicia.

3411. *Zedekiah* king of
Judah, makes alliance
with *Apries* against
Nebuchadnezzar.

594-

593-

A.M. BABYL.

TABLE.
MEDIA.

LYDIA. Ant.
J. C.

203

Cambyfes, fa-
ther of Cyrus.

3405. Nebuchad-
nezar's Lieu-
tenants, after
having ravaged
Judea, block-
ade Jerusalem,
and put king
Jehoiakim to
death. About
the end of the
same year, Ne-
buchadnezar
repairs in per-
son to Jerusa-
lem, makes
himself master
of it, and ap-
points Zede-
kiah king in-
stead of Jehoi-
akim, whom
he carries into
captivity.

Birth of Cy-
rus.

599.

594.

3409.

Death of Cy-
axares : his son
Astyages suc-
cedes. He reigns
35 years.

595.

593.

3416. Nebuchad-
nezar destroys
Jerusalem, and
carries away
Zedekiah cap-
tive to Baby-
lon. At his

Cyrus goes
the first time
into Media, to
see his grandfa-
ther Astyages,
where he stays
three years.

588.

204
A.M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

EGYPT.

GREECE. Ant.
J. C.

3430. Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Lybia.

Amasis revolts against Apries.

3432. Nebuchadnezzar subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis on the throne.

3435. Apries dies in the twentyfifth year of his reign.

Amasis reigns after him in peace 44 years.

3440.

Thespis reforms tragedy. 564

Pythagoras about this time goes into Egypt.

TABLE.

A. M. BABYL.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.
		205
		Ant.
		J. C.

return into his dominions he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.

3432. Nebuchadnezzar takes Tyre after a siege of thirteen years. He did not go against Egypt till after this expedition.

3434. Nebuchadnezzar's second dream interpreted by Daniel.

3435. Nebuchadnezzar is seven years reduced to the condition of a beast; but reigns again one year. His son Evil-Merodach succeeds and reigns only two years.

3442.

Vol. XII.

T

Crasus. 562.
Ant. lived

A.M. EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.

J. C.

3444.

Simonides, the celebrated poet. 560.

3445.

Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens. 559.

3450.

Amasis invites the Greeks to settle in Egypt; and contributes to rebuild the temple of Delphos.

Hipponax, author of the verse Scazon. 544.

Heraclitus, chief of the sect of his name.

	T A B L E.		207
A. M. BABYL.	M E D I A.	L Y D I A.	Ant.
			J. C.

3444. *Neriglissar.* Death of Astyages. *Cyaxares* succeeds him, known in the scripture under the name of Darius the Mede. in his reign, 560. and was in his court at the same time with Solon.

3445. Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians. 559.

3447. Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia. 557.

3448. *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, where *Neriglissar* is slain. 556.

Labrosarched.
He reigns only nine months.

Cræsus flies before *Cyrus*.

3449. *Labynt*, called in scripture *Belshazzar*. About this time the marriage of *Cyrus* with the daughter of his uncle *Cyaxares* may be dated. 555.

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CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

Ant.

J. C.

3464.

Birth of *Æschylus*. 540.

Ctesiphon or *Cher-
siphon*, the architect, fa-
mous for building the
temple of *Diana* at
Ephesus.

3478.

Death of *Pisistratus*. 526.
Hippias his son succeeds
him.

3479.

Psamenitus, the
son of *Amasis*, reigns
only six months. He
is put to death by
Cambyses, who joins
Egypt to the Persian
empire, which so con-
tinues till *Alexander*
the Great, being 206
years.

525.

3490.

Miltades goes to set- 514.
tle in the *Chersonese*.

3496.

The *Pisistratidæ* a- 508.
bandon *Attica*.

TABLE

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A. M. BABYL. MEDIA. LYDIA. Ant.

J.C.

3456.

Battel of 548.

Thymbria be-
tween Cyrus
and Cræsus,
with the loss
of Sardis.

End of the

5466.

Cyrus makes kingdom of 538.
Lydia,

Labynit is himself master
killed at the of Babylon.

taking of Ba-
bylon. His
death puts an
end to the Ba-
bylonian em-
pire, which is
united with

Death of Cy-

3468. that of Media. axares.

536.

After the death of Cyaxares and Camby-
ses, Cyrus, who succeeded to both, united
the kingdom of Media with those of
Babylon and Persia; and of the three
formed a fourth, namely the empire of
Persia, which subsisted 206 years.

Empire of PERSIA.

3468. Cyrus. In the first year of his reign he per- 536.
mits the Jews to return into Judea.

3470. Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the 534.
kings of Persia.

3475. Cyrus dies at his return the seventh time into 529.]
Persia. He reigned seven years alone, and thirty
from his setting out from Persia at the head of
an army to aid Cyaxares.

Cambyses his son succeeds him. In the fourth]
year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and reunites
it to the empire of Persia.

T 3

P E R

A. M.

PERSIANS.

Ant.

J. C.

3480. Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyfes against 524.
Ethiopia.

3481. Cambyfes puts to death Meroe, who was 523.
both his fister and wife.

About this time Oretes, fervant to Cambyfes,
makes himfelf mafter of the ifland of Samos,
and caufes Polycrates, the Tyrant thereof to be
put to death.

3482. Death of Cambyfes. *Smerdis* the Magian, 522.
who ufurped the throne before Cambyfes died,
fuccedes him. He reigns only feven months.

3483. *Darius* fon of Hyftafpes. 521.

3485. Edict of *Darius* in favour of the Jews, where- 519.
in that of *Cyrus* is repealed. Tis believed, that
what occurs in the book of *Efther*, happened
fome time after this edict.

3488. *Babylon* revolts againft *Darius*, but is befieged 516.
and retaken.

3490. Expedition of *Darius* againft the *Scythians*. 514.

3496. *Darius* penetrates into *India*, and fubdues all 508.
that large country.

The Grecian hiftory from henceforth is
quite intermixt with that of the Persian,
for which reason I fhall feparate their
chronology no farther.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

3501. The Perfians befiege the capital of *Naxos*, and 503.
are obliged to raife it in fix months.

3502. *Ariftagoras*, governor of *Miletus* revolts from 502.
Darius, and brings the *Ionians* and *Athenians* in-
to his party.

3504. The *Ionians* fubdue *Sardis*, and burn it. 500.

3507. The Perfians defeat the *Ionians* at fea, fubdue 497.
Miletus, and burn it.

Æschylus

TABLE.

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A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS. Ant.

J. C.

Æschylus.

3510. Darius sends Gobryas at the head of an army 494.
to attack Greece.

Anacreon.

3513. Darius takes the command from Gobryas, and 491.
gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.

3514. Battel of Marathon. 490.

3515. Unfortunate end of Miltiades. 489.

3519. Death of Darius Hyftaspes, succeeded by his 485.
son Xerxes.

3520. Birth of the historian *Herodotus.* 484.

3524. Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks. 480.

Battel of Thermopylæ: Leonidas king of Sparta
is killed in it; Seafight near Artemisium at the
same time.

Birth of *Euripides.*

Battel of Salamis, followed by the precipitate
return of Xerxes into Persia.

3525. Battel of Plataea. Seafight the same day near 479.
Mycalæ, in which the Persians are beat.

3526. The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, 478.
which had been demolished by Xerxes.

3528. The command of the Grecian armies is trans- 476.
ferred from the Lacedemonians to the Athenians.

Pindar florished about this time.

3530. *Pausanias*, Lacedemonian general, accused of 474.
holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to
death.

3531. *Themistocles*, Athenian general, accused of the 473.
the same plot, takes refuge with Admetas king
of Molossia.

Sophocles and *Euripides* appear in Greece about
this time.

3532. Xerxes is killed by Artabanus captain of his 472.
guard,

Artaxerxes

A. M.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

Ant.

J. C.

Artaxerxes Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.

3533. *Cimon* receives the command of the army at Athens: the year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the river Eurymedon.

Birth of the historian *Thucydides*.

3534. Earthquake at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the Helots.

Birth of *Socrates*.

3535. Beginning of *Pericles*. 469.

Pbidias, famous for architecture and sculpture.

Misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, occasioned by the affront given to the Athenians in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, in consequence of this quarrel, *Cimon* is banished by the Ostracism.

*Esdra*s obtains leave from *Artaxerxes* to return

3537. to Jerusalem with all that are willing to follow him. 467.

3538. *Themistocles* kills himself at Magnesia. 466.

3540. *Herodicus* of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians, called *Διατῆτιν*. Hippocrates was his disciple. 464.

3544. The Egyptians supported by the Athenians revolt from *Artaxerxes*. 460.

3545. Defeat of the Persians in Egypt. 459.

3548. The Egyptians and Athenians are beat in their turn: in consequence of which all Egypt returns to *Artaxerxes*, and the Athenians retire to *Dianarus*, where they sustain a siege of one year. 456.

Battel

A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS. Ant.
J. C.

Battel of Tanagra in Beotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who came to aid the Beotians.

3550. *Nebemiab* returns to Jerusalem. 454.

3554. Birth of *Xenophon*. 450.

Cimon, recalled after five years banishment, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, who conclude a truce of five years.

3555. End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued fiftyone years from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, 449.
Death of Cimon.

3558. The Lacedemonians conclude a thirty years 446.
truce with the Athenians: the latter soon break it by new enterprizes.

Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher flourished about this time.

Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.

3564. Pericles makes war with Samos, and takes the 440.
capital after a siege of nine months.

Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus: his rival *Parrhasius* lived at the same time.

Aristophanes, comic poet.

3568. Birth of *Isocrates*. 436.

War between Corinth and Corcyra. The Athenians aid the Corcyrians. The inhabitants of Potidea declare for Corinth against Athens. *Alcibiades* begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponesus.

Scopas, architect and sculptor.

3573. Beginning of the Peloponesian war: it subsists 431.
twentyseven years.

3574. Plague rages in Attica. Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his great care of the sick. 430.

Death

- | A. M. | PERSIANS and GREEKS. | Ant.
J. C. |
|-------|--|---------------|
| 3575. | Death of Pericles. | 429. |
| 3576. | The Lacedemonians besiege Plataea.
<i>Plato</i> , founder of the antient academy. | 428. |
| 3579. | Death of Artaxerxes : his son <i>Xerxes</i> reigns 425,
only fortyfive days.
<i>Sogdianus</i> puts <i>Xerxes</i> to death, and is king in
his stead. His reign is only six months. | |
| 3580. | <i>Ocbus</i> , aliter <i>Darius Notbus</i> , rids himself of 424.
<i>Sogdianus</i> , and succedes him.
The Athenians, under <i>Nicias</i> , make them-
selves masters of <i>Cythera</i> .
<i>Thucydides</i> is banished by the Athenians, whose
army he commanded, for suffering <i>Amphipolis</i>
to be taken.
<i>Polygnotus</i> famed particularly for his painting
in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens, repre-
senting the principal events of the Trojan war. | |
| 3583. | Treaty of peace concluded by the application 421.
of <i>Nicias</i> , between Athens and Sparta, in the
tenth year from the beginning of the Lacede-
monian war. <i>Alcibiades</i> by an imposture occa-
sions its being broke the next year. | |
| 3584. | The banishment of <i>Hyperbolus</i> puts an end to 420.
the Ostracism. | |
| 3588. | <i>Alcibiades</i> persuades the Athenians to help 416.
<i>Segesta</i> against the <i>Syracusans</i> . | |
| 3589. | <i>Alcibiades</i> , one of the generals sent to Sicily 415.
by the Athenians is recalled to answer accusations
against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condem-
ned for contumacy. | |
| 3590. | <i>Pisuthnes</i> governor of Syria revolts from Da- 414.
<i>rius</i> . The Egyptians do the same, and chuse
<i>Amyrteus</i> their king, who reigns six years. | |
| 3593. | <i>Alcibiades</i> , to avoid the envy caused by his 411.
great actions at Sparta, goes over to <i>Tissaphernes</i> ,
the | |

A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS. Ant.
J. C.

- the Persian governor. The Lacedemonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.
3595. Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return 409.
causes the abolition of the four hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.
3597. Darius gives his younger son Cyrus the go- 407-
vernment in chief of all Asia Minor.
3598. *Lysander* is placed at the head of the Lacede- 406.
monians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephe-
sus. In consequence of that defeat Alcibiades is
deposed, and ten generals are nominated to suc-
cede him.
3599. *Callicratidas* commands the army in the room 405.
of *Lysander*, whom the Lacedemonians had re-
moved: he is killed in a seafight near the *Arginusæ*.
Lysander is restored, and gains a famous victory
over the Athenians at *Ægospotamos*. *Conon*, who
commanded the Athenian fleet, retires to *Eva-*
goras king of Cyprus.
3600. *Lysander* makes himself master of Athens, 404.
changes the government, and appoints thirty
Archons, generally called Tyrants.
End of the Peloponnesian war.
Death of *Darius Nothus*: his son *Artaxerxes* suc-
cedes him, and takes the name of *Artaxerxes*
Mnemon.
Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his
brother *Artaxerxes*: his design being discovered,
he is sent to his provincial government.
3601. Interview of him and *Lysander* at Sardis. 403.
Thrasybulus expels the tyrants from Athens,
and restores its liberty.
3602. Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his 402.
brother *Artaxerxes*.

Defeat

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A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS. Ant.

J. C.

3603. Defeat and death of Cyrus at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten thousand. 401.

Death of Socrates.

3604. Lacedemon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. 400.

3606. Beginning of *Amyntas* king of Macedonia, father of Philip. 398.

3607. *Agefilans* is elected king of Sparta. The next year he sets out for Asia, to aid the Greeks who had settled there. 397.

3609. *Lyfander* quarrels with *Agefilans*, and undertakes to change the order of succession to the throne. 395.

Tissaphernes is beat near Sardis by *Agefilans*.

3610. Thebes, Argos and Corinth, make a league against Lacedemon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens joins the league soon after. *Agefilans* is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. 394.

The Lacedemonian fleet is defeated near Cnidos by *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. *Agefilans* routs the Thebans about the same time in the plains of Coronæa.

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.

3617. Peace dishonorable to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by *Antalcides* the Spartan. 387.

3618. *Artaxerxes* attacks *Evagoras*, king of Cyprus, and gains a signal victory. It is followed by the siege of Salamis, and terminated by a treaty of peace. 386.

3620. Expedition of *Artaxerxes* against the Cadusians. Birth of *Aristotle*. 384.

3621. Sparta declares war against the city of Olynthus. Birth of *Philip* king of Macedonia. 383.

Phelidas

A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS

J. C.

3622. *Phebidas*, Lacedemonian, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, seizes the citadel of Thebes. Birth of *Demosthenes*. 382.
3626. Pelopidas, at the head of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel. 378.
3627. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had revolted. He is two years in preparing for that war. 377.
3629. Death of Amyntas king of Macedonia: his eldest son *Alexander* succeeds, who reigns only two years. *Perdiccas* succeeds next, and reigns fourteen years. 375.
3630. Death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, succeeded by his son *Nicocles*. 374.
3634. Battel of Leuctra, where the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedemonians. 370.
3635. Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. He terminates the difference between Perdiccas and Ptolemy concerning the crown of Macedonia. He is killed in a battel with the tyrant of Pheræ. 369.
3641. Battle of Mantinea, where Epaminondas is slain after securing victory to the Thebans. 363.
3642. Agesilaus goes to aid Tachos king of Egypt against Artaxerxes, but betrays him, and secures the crown to Nectanebis. He dies at his return. 362.
- Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, succeeded by his son *Ochus*. 360.
3644. *Philip* ascends the throne of Macedon, and makes peace with the Athenians. 360.

History of the Cappadocians begins here,
but the chronology is joined hereafter
with that of Pontus and Parthia.

3546. War of the allies with Athens. It continues 353.
three years.
Philip takes Amphipolis.
3548. Revolt of Artabazus against Ochus king of Persia. 356.
Birth of *Alexander* the Great.
3549. Demosthenes appears the first time in public, 355.
and animates the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia.
Beginning of the sacred war.
3550. Death of *Mausolus* king of Caria. 354.
3551. Philip takes and destroys Methona, where he 353.
loses an eye.
3552. *Artemisia*, queen to, and widow of Mausolus, 352.
takes Rhodes.
Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ.
3553. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. 351.
3554. Nectanebis, the last Egyptian king of Egypt, 350.
retires to Ethiopia, where he dies.
3555. Death of Plato, 348.
Philip takes Olynthus.
3558. Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Phocis. 346.
He is admitted into the number of Amphictyons.
3562. Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonese in favour of Diopithus. 342.
3565. The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium besieged by Philip, who is obliged to retreat. 339.
3566. Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of Amphictyons. He surprises Elatea. 338.
- Battle of Cheronæa; Philip defeats the Athenians and Thebans, who had joined against him.

TABLE.

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A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J. C.

Ochus king of Persia is poisoned by Bagoas, and succeeded by his son *Artes*, who reigns three years.

3667. Philip is declared general of the Greeks 337. against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.

3668. Philip's death. *Alexander*, then twenty years 336. of age, succeeds him.

Artes king of Persia is assassinated by Bagoas, and succeeded by *Darius Codomanus*.

3669. Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. 335. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians, in a dyet assembled at Corinth.

3670. Alexander sets out for Persia. 334.

Battel of the Granicus, and conquest of Asia Minor.

3671. Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, by bathing in the river Cydnus,

Battel of Issus.

3672. Alexander takes Tyre, after a siege of seven 332. months.

Apelles one of the most famed painters of antiquity. *Aristides* and *Protagenes* were his contemporaries.

Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He subjects Gaza, and soon after all Egypt. He goes to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return builds Alexandria.

3673. Battel of Arbela; followed with the taking 331. of Arbela, Babylon, Susa and Persopolis.

3674. Darius is bound in chains by Bessus, and soon 330. after assassinated. His death puts an end to the

Persian empire, which had stood two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.

The Lacedemonians revolt against Macedonia. Antipater defeats them in a battle wherein Agis their king is slain.

Tbalestris, queen of the Amazons, visits Alexander at Zadracarta.

Philotas and his father Parmenio, suspected of conspiring against Alexander, are put to death.

3675. Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after 329 put to death.

Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city on the Iaxartes, named Alexandria.

Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory over that people.

Lyfippus of Sicyon, famed sculptor.

3676. Oxus and Corienfis, rocks besieged and taken 328 by Alexander.

Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast, as is Callisthenes soon after.

Alexander marries Roxana daughter of Oxartes.

3677. Alexander enters India. He gains a great 327 victory over Porus at the Hydaspes.

3678. On the remonstrance of his army, Alexander 326 determines to march back.

Alexander is in great danger at the siege of Oxydracæ.

3679. Alexander marries Statira, the eldest daughter 325 of Darius.

Revolt of Harpalus, governor of Babylon for Alexander.

Demosthenes is banished for receiving presents, and being corrupted by Harpalus.

Death

TABLE.

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A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J. C.

3680. Death of Hephestion at Ecbatana. 324.
Menander, inventor of the New comedy, lived about this time.
3681. Alexander at his return to Babylon dies there, 323, aged thirtytwo years and eight months, *Aridaus*, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to *Perdiccas*.
 The generals divide the provinces among themselves : from this division begins the *Æra* of the *Lagides* in Egypt.
 The Athenians revolt, and ingage the states of Greece to join them. *Demosthenes* is recalled from banishment.
3682. Antipater is besieged in Lameia by the Atheni- 322.
 ans, and forced to surrender. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison there.
 Death of *Demosthenes*.
3683. Alexander's magnificent funeral. 321.
Perdiccas puts *Eumenes* into possession of *Capadocia*.
 League of *Ptolemy*, *Craterus*, *Antipater* and *Antigonus*, against *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes*.
 Death of *Craterus*.
 Unfortunate end of *Perdiccas* in Egypt : he is succeeded by *Antipater* in the regency of the empire.
3684. *Eumenes*, routed by *Antigonus*, retires to the 320.
 castle of *Nora*, which he defends a whole year.
Ptolemy takes *Jerusalem*.
3685. Death of *Antipater*. *Polysspercon* succeeds him. 319.
Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.
Cassander, son of *Antipater*, seizes Athens and settles *Demetrius Phaleræus* in the government.

3687. Olympias, mother of Alexander, causes 317.
Arideus, and Euridice his wife, to be put to
death, as she is soon after by Cassander.

3639. Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his 315.
own soldiers, and put to death.

3691. *Antigonus* takes Tyre after a siege of fifteen 313.
months. His son Demetrius Poliorcetes begins
to appear.

3692. *Zeno* founder of the Stoics at Athens. 312.

3693. *Seleucus* subjects Babylon, and the neighbour- 311.
ing provinces.

At this expedition begins the famous *Æra* of
the *Seleucides*, called by the Jews the *Æra* of
contracts.

Ptolemy repairs to Egypt, followed by many
inhabitants of Phenicia and Judea.

Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexan-
der to be put to death.

3695. Polypercon puts Hercules, the son of Alex- 309.
ander, and his mother Berenice to death.

3696. Ophellas, governor of Lybia, revolts from 308.
Ptolemy.

3698. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* recovers Athens, and re- 306.
stores the democratical government. The same
year he subdues the whole island of Cyprus, with
the city of Salamis.

Demetrius Phaleræus, who commanded at
Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians
throw down his statues, and condemn him to
death.

3698. Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, assume the 306.
title of kings. The other princes do the same.

3699. Antigonus, to make the most of his son's 305.
victory in Cyprus, undertakes to dethrone *Ptolemy*
in Egypt, but miscarries.

Ptolemy

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PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J. C.

Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt on the 7th of November this year.

Demetrius Poliorcetes besieges Rhodes, but abandons it the next year.

The Rhodians imploy the money which Demetrius had given them as a present, in erecting their famous Colossus.

Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the states assembled at Corinth.

Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfima- chus enter into a league against Antigonus and his son Demetrius.

Battel of Ipsus, where Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of Alexander's empire among the four allied princes.

Arcefilaus founder of the Middle academy.

CHRONOLOGICAL

A.M. The four kingdoms formed out of Alex- Ant.
 ander's empire by his principal suc- J. C.
 cessors are so mixt in their events, that
 I have chose to place them all in one
 column, after this list of their kings.

EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACE- DONIA.	THRACE and Bithynia.	
3704. Ptolemy	Seleucus	Cassander.	Lyfima-	300.
Soter.	Nicator.		chus.	
3707.		Philip and Alex- ander the sons of Cassander reign three years.		297.
3710.		Demetri- us Polior- cetes.		294.
3717.		Pyrrhus and Lyfi- machus.		287.
3719. Ptolemy				285.
Philadel- phus.				
3723.			Lyfima-	281.
			chus dies in battel; af- ter which his domini- ons no lon- ger form a separate kingdom.	
		Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.		

TABLE.

A. M. EGYPT.

SYRIA.

MACEDO-
NIA.

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Ant.

J. C.

3724.

Antiochus
Soter.

Ptolemy Ce- 280.
raunus. His
brother *Melea-*
ger reigned a
short time.

3726.

Sostrbenes. 278.

3728.

Antigonus 276.

3743.

Antiochus
Theos.

Gonatas. 261.

3758.

Ptolemy
Evergetes.

Seleucus Cal-
linicus.

246.

3762.

Demetrius 242.
son of *Antigo-*
nus Gonatas.

3772.

Antigonus 232.

3778.

Seleucus Ce-
raunus.

226.

3781.

Antiochus the
Great.

223.

3783.

Ptolemy Phi-
lopator.

221.

3784.

Philip. 210.

3800.

Ptolemy Epi-
phanes.

204.

3817.

Seleucus Phi-
lopator.

187.

A. M. EGYPT.

SYRIA.

MACEDO- Ant,
NIA. J. C.3824. *Ptolemy Phi-*
lometor.

180.

3825.

Perseus, last 179.
king of Mace-
donia.

3829.

Antiochus
Epiphanes.

175.

3840.

Antiochus
Eupator.

164.

3842.

Demetrius Soter.

162.

3854.

Alexander Balus.

150.

3859. *Ptolemy*
*Physcon.**Demetrius*

145.

Nicator.

3860.

Antiochus

144.

Theos the son of
Balus is made
king. *Tryphon*
murders him
and usurps the
crown.

3864.

140.

Antiochus Si-
detes puts *Try-*
phon to death,
and reigns in
his room.

3877.

127.

Zebina suc-
cedes *Demetrius*
Nicator.

3880.

124.

Seleucus, the
son of *Nicator.**Antiochus*3887. *Ptolemy La-*
*thyus.**Grypus.*

117.

3890.

Antiochus
Cyzicus divides
the kingdom
with *Grypus.*

114.

TABLE.

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A.M. EGYPT.

SYRIA.

Ant.

J. C.

107.

3897. *Alexander I. brother to Lathyrus.*

3907.

Seleucus son of Grypus, 97.

3911.

Antiochus Eusebes, 93.

3912.

Antiochus, second son of Grypus.

3913.

Philip, third son of Grypus.

3914.

Demetrius Eucbares, fourth son of Grypus, 90.

3919.

Antiochus Dionysus, fifth son of Grypus, which four last reigned successively during the life of Eusebes.

3921.

Tigranes, 14 years, 83.

3923. *Alexander II. son of Alexander I.*

81.

3935.

Antiochus Asiaticus, 69.

3939. *Ptolemy Auletes.*

67.

3946. *Berenice, daughter of Auletes, reigns some time in his stead, after which he is restored.*

58.

3953. *Cleopatra reigns at first with her elder brother Ptolemy; then with Ptolemy her younger brother, whom she poisons to reign alone.*

51.

3704. *Seleucus* king of Syria builds Antioch. 300.
Poliorectes denied entrance at Athens.
3707. Death of *Cassander* king of Macedon. His son 297.
Philip reigns one year, and is succeeded by his
brother *Alexander*. About this time *Pyrrhus*
king of *Epir* espouses *Antigone* of the house of
Ptolemy, and returns to his dominions, out of
which he had been driven by the *Molossi*.
3709. *Demetrius Poliorectes* retakes Athens. *Lyfi-* 295.
machus and *Ptolemy* about the same time de-
prive him of all he possessed.
3710. *Demetrius* puts to death *Alexander* king of 294.
Macedonia, whom he went to assist, and seizes
his dominions, where he reigns seven years.
3711. *Seleucia* city built by *Seleucus*. 293.
3717. *Pyrrhus* and *Lyfimachus* take Macedonia from 287.
Demetrius, who dies miserably the next year in
prison.
3719. *Ptolemy Soter*, king of Egypt, resigns the 285.
throne to his son *Philadelphus*.
Kingdom of Pergamus founded by *Philetéres*.
3721. *Demetrius Phalereus* confined in a fort by or- 283.
der of *Philadelphus*, kills himself there.
3722. *Seleucus Nicator*, king of Syria, declares war 282.
against *Lyfimachus* king of Macedonia.
3723. *Lyfimachus* is killed in battle. *Seleucus* en- 281.
ters Macedonia to take possession, and is assassi-
nated by *Ceraunus*. His son *Antiochus Soter*
succeeds him in Syria.
3724. *Ceraunus*, to secure the kingdom of Macedo- 280.
nia to himself, puts the two children of *Seleu-*
eus by *Arfinoe* to death, and banishes her into
Samothrace.

The Achean republic resumes its antient form,
which it had lost under *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Pyrrhus

A. M.

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SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER.

J. C.

Pyrrhus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy, where he twice defeats the Romans.

3725. Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Pto- 279.
lemy Ceraunus gives them battle and is killed.
His brother *Melceger* succeeds him.

3726. Pyrrhus leaves Italy, and goes to Sicily, 278.
which he conquers.

Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia.

He is made king there, and reigns two years.

The Gauls plunder the temple of Delphos.

3727. Ptolemy Philadelphus, causes the holy scrip- 277.
ture to be translated into Greek.

3728. Death of *Sosthenes*. In his room *Antigonus* 276.

Gonatas son of *Peliorcetes*, who reigned after-
ward ten years in Greece, makes himself king of
Macedonia. *Antiochus* king of Syria disputes
the possession with him; their difference ter-
minates by the marriage of *Antigonus* with
Phila, daughter of *Stratonice* and *Seleucus*.

3729. *Antiochus* defeats the Gauls in a bloody bat- 275.
tel, and delivers the country from their oppres-
sion; for which he acquires the name of *Soter*.

3730. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated 274.
by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, and
defeats *Antigonus*.

Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an embassy to
Rome to demand its amity.

3732. Pyrrhus besieges but cannot take Sparta. He 272.
is killed next year at the siege of Argos.

3736. *Antigonus Gonatas* subdues Athens, which 268.
had made a league with Sparta against him.

3739. *Abantidas* makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, 265.
after having put to death *Clinias* the governor.

Magas, governor of Cyrenia and Lybia, rebels
against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

3741. Death of Phileterus king of Pergamus, suc- 263.
ceded by his nephew *Eumenes*.
3743. Antiochus Soter king of Syria causes his son 261.
Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon
after.
- Berosus* of Babylon, the historian, lived about
this time.
3746. Accommodation between Magas and Ptolemy 258.
Philadelphus.
3749. War between Antiochus king of Syria, and 255.
Philadelphus.
3752. *Aratus* the son of Clinias delivers Sicyon from 252.
tyranny, and unites it with the Achean league.
3754. *Arfaces* rebels against Agathocles governor for 250.
Antiochus in Parthia. About the same time
Theodorus governor of Bactria revolts, and makes
himself king of that province.
3755. Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Pto- 249.
lemy Philadelphus, pursuant to which Antio-
chus repudiates Laodice, and marries Ptolemy's
daughter Berenice.
3756. *Agis* king of Sparta labours to revive the an- 248.
cient laws of *Lycurgus*: his colleague *Leonidas* is
deposed for refusing to consent to it, and his son in
law *Cleombrotus* reigns in his stead.
3757. Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of 247.
Egypt, succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Evergetes*.
Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon
the Argonauts expedition.
3758. Antiochus, called Theos, king of Syria, is 246.
poisoned by his wife Laodice, who causes her son
Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king.
Berenice, and her son, by Antiochus, are mur-
dered by Laodice.

A. M.

Ant.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J. C.

Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, revenges her murder by the death of Laodice. He seizes great part of Syria.

3760. The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia aid the 244.
king of Syria against Evergetes.

Aratus takes the citadel of Corinth.

Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.

3762. Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Mace- 242.
donia, succeeded by his son *Demetrius*.

Seleucus Calinicus goes to war with his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, and is routed at Ancyra in Galatia.

3763. Death of Eumenes Ist. king of Pergamus, 241.
succeeded by his cousin *Attalus*.

3765. *Eratosthenes* is made librarian to Ptolemy 239.
Evergetes.

3771. *Joseph*, nephew of *Onias*, is sent envoy to 233.
Evergetes.

3772. Death of *Demetrius* king of Macedonia. 232.
Antigonus, guardian to Philip son of *Demetrius*,
succeeds him.

Polyclitus of Sicyon, famed sculptor.

3774. Seleucus Calinicus, king of Syria, defeated 230.
and taken prisoner by Arsaces king of Parthia.

3776. *Cleomenes* II. king of Sparta, defeats the 228.
Acheans at Dyme.

3778. Seleucus dies in Parthia of a fall from his 226.
horse. His son *Seleucus Ceraunus* succeeds him.

Antiochus Hierax is killed by thieves on leaving Egypt.

Aratus defeats Aristippus tyrant of Argos. He persuades Lyfiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and makes his city join the Achean league.

3779. The Romans send a famous embassy into 225.
Greece, notifying their treaty with the Illyri-
ans. The Romans are admitted to celebrate
the Isthmian games, and are made free of Athens.
Antigonus Doson king of Macedonia, aids the
Acheans against the Lacedemonians.
3781. Cleomenes takes Megalapolis, but is defeated 223.
at Selasia by Antigonus, who takes Sparta.
Death of Seleucus Ceraunus king of Syria.
His brother *Antiochus the Great* succeeds.
3782. Colossus of Rhodes thrown down by an earth- 222.
quake.
3783. Death of Ptolemy Evergetes king of Egypt. 221.
Philopator succeeds him.
The Acheans are beat by the Etolians at
Caphia.
3784. Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who 220.
had revolted, the first in Media, the other in
Persia.
Death of Antigonus Doson. *Philip* the son
of Demetrius succeeds him.
Cleomenes king of Sparta dies in Egypt. Age-
sipolis and Lycurgus succede him.
War of the allies with the Etolians, in favor
of the Acheans.
3785. *Hermias*, prime minister of Antiochus, is put 219.
to death by his order.
3787. Battel of Raphia in Palestin. 217.
Treaty of peace between Philip and the Ache-
ans on one side, and the Etolians on the other,
which terminates the war of the allies.
3788. Achæus, who had revolted is betrayed to An- 216.
tiochus the Great, and put to death.
Philip's treaty with Hannibal.

TABLE.

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A. M.

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SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J. C.

3789. Philip is surprized by the Romans at Apolonia. 215.
3790. *Carneades* founder of the New academy. 214.
3792. Antiochus in seven years reduces the provinces of Syria which had revolted. 212.
3793. Alliance of the Etolians with Rome. Atalus king of Pergamus joins it. The Lacedæmonians accede soon after. 211.
3796. Battel between Philip and the Etolians at Elis. 208.
3798. Battel of Mantinea, where Philopæmen defeats and kills *Machanidas* tyrant of Sparta. 206.
3800. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies are included. 204.
Polybius the historian born.
Death of Ptolemy Philopator, succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, five years old.
3801. League between Philip and Antiochus against the young king of Egypt. 203.
3802. Philip is defeated at sea by the Rhodians near Chios: his cruelty to the Ciansians seems to be the next year. 202.
3803. Philip besieges and takes Abydos. 201.
3804. The Romans declare war with Philip. Their general *Sulpitius* gains a considerable victory near *Ocitolophus* in Macedonia. 200.
3805. *Villicus* succeeds *Sulpitius* in the command of the army against Philip; and next year *Flaminius* succeeds *Villicus*. 199.
3806. Antiochus subjects *Palestin* and *Cælesyria*. 198.
The Acheans join the Romans against Philip.
3807. Interview of Philip and the consul *Flaminius*. 197.
Nabis tyrant of Sparta declares for the Romans: the Beotians do the same.

Death of Attalus I, king of Pergamus, succeeded by his eldest son *Eumenes*.

Battel of Cynoscephale, where the Romans defeat Philip.

3808. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war. 196.

Embassy from Rome to Antiochus the Great, to know whether the complaints against him were just.

Scopas is put to death for conspiring against Ptolemy Epiphanes.

3809. Flaminius makes war against Nabis tyrant of Sparta. 195.

3813. Philopæmen beats Nabis near Sparta. 191.

The Etolians attempt to surprise Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta.

Nabis is killed. Philopæmen makes the Spartans join the Achean league.

Antiochus goes to Greece to aid the Etolians: the Romans declare against him, and soon after defeat him near Thermopylæ.

3814. Battel of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace between Antiochus and the Romans. 190.

Panetius, philosopher, born about this time.

3815. The consul Fulvius subdues the Etolians. His colleague Manlius near the same time subdues the Gauls in Asia. 189.

The Spartans cruelly treated by their exiles.

3817. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed for plundering the temple of Jupiter Belus. 187.

Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.

3821. Philopæmen is put to death by Dinocrates. 183.

3823. Demetrius, younger son of king Philip is put to death on the false accusation of his brother Perseus. 181.

Death

TABLE.

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Ant.

J. C.

3824. Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, succeeded by 180.
his son *Ptolemy Philometor*, six years old.
3825. Death of Philip king of Macedonia, suc- 179.
ceded by his son *Perseus*.
3829. Seleucus Philopator king of Syria is poisoned 175.
by Heliodorus, whom he had sent to take Jeru-
salem. He is succeeded by *Antiochus Epiphanes*.
3830. Antiochus Epiphanes deposes Onias highpriest 174.
of Jerusalem, and puts Jason in his place.
3833. War between Antiochus and Philometor, 171.
The Romans declare war against Perseus. He
gains the first battel in Thessaly.
3834. Antiochus Epiphanes subdues all Egypt, He 170.
commits horrid cruelties at Jerusalem.
3835. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philome- 169.
tor who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus,
make his brother *Ptolemy Evergetes* king.
Philometor set at liberty, unites with his bro-
ther, which makes Antiochus renew the war.
3836. Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Mace- 168.
donian war against Perseus, whom he routs near
Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of
Macedonia. Tis made a Roman province twen-
ty years after.
The prætor Anicius subdues Illyria in thirty
days.
Popilius, Roman embassador in Egypt, obliges
Antiochus to agree with the two Ptolemies and
quit Egypt. Antiochus, enraged at this, vents
his anger upon the Jews, and commands all peo-
ple under his dominion to renounce their religion,
and conform to his.
3837. Antiochus goes to Jerusalem, to see his orders 167.
put in execution. The martyrdom of the Mac-
cabees, and death of Eleazar, happened at that
time.
Paulus

Paulus Æmilius suffers the cities of Epirus to be plundered for having sided with Perseus. The Achæans, suspected of the same, are sent to Rome. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they return not home till seventeen years after: Polybius was of this number.

3838. Prusias king of Bithynia goes to Rome. Eu- 166.
menes king of Pergamus is not permitted to enter it.

Death of Matathias. His son Judas succeeds him, and often defeats the generals of Antiochus.

3840. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Ely- 164.
mais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judea with design to exterminate the Jews; but he dies on the way in the greatest agonies. His son Antiochus Eupator succeeds him.

3841. Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusa- 163.
lem; but returns into Syria to expel Philip of Antioch, who had seized that capital.

3842. Disputes between Philometor king of Egypt 162.
and Physcon his brother, which subsist five years.

Octavius, Roman ambassador in Syria is murdered.

Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, being a hostage at Rome, escapes from thence to Syria, where he puts Antiochus Eupator to death, and mounts the throne.

3843. Judas Maccabeus dies in battel. 161.

3844. Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by 160.
the Romans.

3845. Death of Eumenes II. king of Pergamus: 159.
his brother Attalus Philadelphus succeeds him.

3848. War between Attalus and Prusias. 156.

Alexander

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J. C.

3851. *Alexander Balus* pretends himself the son of 153.
Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to be king of
Syria.
3852. *Andriscus* pretends himself the son of Per- 152.
seus, to be king of Macedonia. He is con-
quered, and sent to Rome by Metellus.
3854. Demetrius Soter is killed in a battel between 150.
him and Alexander Balus, whereby the latter re-
mains king of Syria.
3856. Macedonia is made a Roman province. 148.
3857. Troubles in Achaia promoted by Dizeus and 147.
Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither from
Rome are insulted.
3858. Metellus gains several advantages over the 146.
Acheans. Mummius succeeds him, and after a
battel by Leucopetra, takes Corinth and de-
stroys it.
Greece is made a Roman province by the name
of Achaia.
3866. Death of Attalus II. king of Pergamus, suc- 138.
ceded by his nephew *Attalus III.* called *Philometor*.
He reigns five years.
3871. Attalus Philometor king of Pergamus dies 133.
and leaves his dominions to the Roman people :
Aristonicus seizes them.
3874. The consul Perpenna defeats Aristonicus, 130.
who is sent to Rome and put to death. Next
year the kingdom of Pergamus is made a Roman
province by Manius Aquilius.

The

The remaining chronology of Syria J. C. Ant.
being confuted is put by itself.

S Y R I A.

3859. *Demetrius Nicator*, son of *Demetrius Soter*, 145.
defeats *Alexander Balus* and ascends the throne.
3860. *Antiochus*, called *Theos*, son of *Balus*, sup- 144.
ported by *Tryphon*, is made king.
- Tryphon* circumvents *Jonathan*, and puts
him to death at *Ptolemais*. The next year he
murders his pupil *Antiochus* and usurps the
kingdom of Syria.
3863. *Demetrius* marches against the *Parthians*. 141.
After some little success he is taken prisoner.
3864. *Antiochus Sidetes*, the second son of *Demetrius* 140.
Soter, marries *Cleopatra* the wife of his brother
Demetrius Nicator; and after putting *Tryphon*
to death is declared king himself.
3869. *Antiochus Sidetes* besieges *John Hyrcanus* in 135.
Jerusalem, which surrenders by capitulation.
3873. *Sidetes* goes against the *Parthians*, while *De-* 131.
metrius is sent back by *Phraates*; but *Sidetes*
after great success is killed in battel.
3874. *Demetrius Nicator* reigns again 'in Syria. 130.
3877. *Demetrius* is killed by *Alexander Zebina*, who 127.
gets himself acknowledged king of Syria.
3880. *Seleucus V.* eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* is 124.
declared king, and soon after killed by *Cleopa-*
tra. *Antiochus Grypus* succeeds him.
3882. *Zebina* is defeated by *Grypus*, and dies soon 122.
after.
3884. *Cleopatra* attempts to poison *Grypus*, and is 120.
poisoned herself.
3890. *Antiochus Cyzicus*, son of *Antiochus Sidetes* 114.
and *Cleopatra*, take arms against *Grypus*: at
first he loses, but in two years obliges his brother
to divide with him the kingdom of Syria.

Death

TABLE:

SYRIA.

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Ant.

J. C.

A. M.

3907. Death of Grypus, succeeded by his eldest son *Seleucus*. 97.
3910. Antiochus Cyzicus is defeated, and put to death. 94.
3911. Seleucus is routed by Antiochus Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia. 93.
Antiochus Eusebes, son of Cyzicus, causes himself to be declared king. He marries Selenia, the widow of Grypus.
3912. *Antiochus*, brother to Seleucus and second son of Grypus, assumes the crown. He is soon after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes. 92.
3913. *Philip* third son of Grypus succeeds. 91.
3914. *Demetrius Eucbares*, fourth son of Grypus, is made king at Damascus by the aid of Lathyrus. 90.
3916. Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who reinstate him two years after. 88.
3919. Demetrius being prisoner in Parthia, *Antiochus Dionysius* fifth son of Grypus is king of Cœlesyria about three years. 85.
3921. The Syrians, resolving to exclude the house of Seleucus, chuse for their king *Tigranes* king of Armenia. He reigns fourteen years by his viceroy, Megadates. 83.
Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he dies.
3928. Death of Nicomedes king of Bithynia : that kingdom and Cyrenica in Africa are both made Roman provinces. 76.
3935. Tigranes recalls Megadates from Syria. 69.
3939. *Antiochus Asiaticus* reigns over some parts of Syria, but after four years Pompey deprives him, and Syria becomes a Roman province. 65.

E G Y P T.

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A. M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

EGYPT.

Ant.
J. C.

3859. Death of Ptolemy Philometor. His brother *Ptolemy Physcon* succeeds him. 145.
3868. The cruelties of *Physcon* at Alexandria, force many of the inhabitants to leave it. 136.
- Physcon* repudiates *Cleopatra*, and marries her daughter of the same name by *Philometor*. He is soon after forced to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to *Cleopatra*, whom he had divorced.
3877. *Physcon* reascends the throne of Egypt. 127.
3882. *Physcon* gives his daughter in marriage to *Grypus* king of Syria. 122.
3887. Death of *Physcon*. *Ptolemy Lathyrus* succeeds him. *Cleopatra* mother to *Lathyrus*, makes him repudiate *Cleopatra* his elder sister, and marry *Selena* his younger. 117.
3891. *Cleopatra*, queen mother, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to *Alexander* her younger son. 113.
3897. *Cleopatra* drives *Lathyrus* out of Egypt, and places on the throne his brother *Alexander*. 107.
3900. Victory of *Lathyrus* over *Alexander* king of the Jews near the Jordan. 104.
3901. *Cleopatra* forces *Lathyrus* to raise the siege of *Ptolemais*, and takes that city herself. 103.
3903. *Cleopatra* takes her daughter *Selena* from *Lathyrus*, and marries her to *Antiochus Grypus*. 101.
3915. *Alexander* kills his mother *Cleopatra*. 89.
3916. *Alexander* is expelled and dies soon after. *Lathyrus* is recalled. 88.
3922. *Lathyrus* ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels retired after he had routed them. 82.
3923. Death of *Lathyrus*. *Alexander II.* son of *Alexander I.* is elected king under the protection of *Sylla*. 81.
3939. *Alexander* is driven out of Egypt. *Ptolemy Auletes* natural son of *Lathyrus* takes his place. 65.
- The

TABLE

A. M.

E G Y P T.

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Ant.

J. C.

3946. The Romans depose Ptolemy king of Cyprus. 38.
Cato seizes that island by order of the senate
Ptolemy Auletes flies from Egypt, and his eldest
daughter *Berenice* is declared queen.
3949. Antony and Gabinius restore Auletes. 55.
3953. Death of Ptolemy Auletes : he leaves his 54.
dominions to his eldest son and daughter, *Ptolemy*,
and the famed *Cleopatra*.
3956. Pothinus and Achillas, the young king's 48.
guardians, deprive *Cleopatra*, and force her out
of Egypt.
3957. Ptolemy the elder dies. Cæsar places *Cleopatra* 47.
upon the throne with *Ptolemy* her younger
brother.
3961. Cleopatra poisons her brother when come of 43.
age to share the authority. She after declares
for the Roman Triumvirate.
3962. In this juncture Cicero was murdered by An- 42.
tony's order, and with him dyed the common-
wealth and liberty of Rome.
3963. Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. 41.
She gains the ascendant of him, and takes him
with her to Alexandria.
3971. Antony subdues Armenia, and brings the 33.
king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleo-
patra and all her children.
- Rupture between young Cæsar and Antony.
Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudi-
ates Octavia at Athens.
3973. Cleopatra retreats at the battel of Actium. 35.
Antony follows her, and thereby leaves the vic-
tory to Cæsar.
3974. Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. 30.
Cæsar reduces Alexandria. Cleopatra kills
herself. Egypt is made a Roman province.

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Y

C A P.

3644. *Ariarathes I.* was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother *Holophernes*. 360.
3663. *Ariarathes II.* son of the first. He is dethroned and crucified by *Perdiccas*, who sets up *Eumenes*. 336.
3689. *Ariarathes III.* son of the II^d. after the death of *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes*. 315.
3720. *Ariamnes.* Son of the foresaid. 284.
Ariarathes IV. Son of *Ariamnes*.
3754. *Arfaces I.* founder of 250. the Parthian empire.
Arfaces II. brother to the first: named also *Tiridates*.
Priapatus. Son of 205. *Arfaces II.*
Phraates I. Son of *Priapatus*. 190.
3814. *Ariarathes V.* Son of the IV. 190.

TABLE.

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A. M.

Ant.

PONTUS.

J. C.

3490. The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king: his successors down to Mithridates are little known.

3600. Mithridates I. commonly considered as the first king of Pontus.

3638. Ariobarzanes. He reigns twenty-nine years. 366.

3667. Mithridates II. He reigns thirty-five years. 337.

3702. Mithridates III. reigns thirty-six years. The three kings who succeed him include about eighty years; the last of them was

Mithridates IV. great grandfather of Mithridates the Great, king of Parthia.

3819. Pharnaces son of Mithridates IV. takes Sinope 185. and makes it the capital of Pontus.

A. M.

Ant.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIA.

J. C.

3840.

Mithridates I. he took 164.

3842.

Arianathes VI. Son
of the Vth. surnamed
Philepator.prisoner Demetrius
Nicator.

262.

3873.

Phraates II. after kil- 131.
ling Antiochus Sidetes in
battel, he himself dies in
another.

3875.

Arianathes VII. Son
of the VIth. murder-
ed by Gordius.*Artabanus*, uncle to 129.
the former: his short
reign was succeeded by*Mithridates II.* called
the Great, who reigned
sixty years, and replaced
Antiochus Eusebes in
Syria.

91.

3913.

Arianathes VIII.
son of the VIIth.
He is killed by Mi-
thridates Eupator,
who sets up his own
son, eight years old.*Arianathes IX.* bro-
ther to the foresaid,
expels the son of Mi-
thridates, who is soon
replaced by his father.

90.

3914.

Sylla enters Cappa-
docia, expels the son
of Mithridates, and
sets up Ariobarzanes I.

39.

3915.

Tigranes king of
Armenia drives out
Ariobarzanes, and re-
institutes the son of
Mithridates.*Mnaschires*, and after
him *Sinatrocbes*. These
two reign about twenty
years.

A. M.

TABLE.

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Ant.

PONTUS.

J. C.

3854. *Mitbridates V.* surnamed *Evergetes*, aids the 150. Romans in the last Punic war. He is killed by his own servants.

3880. *Mitbridates VI.* son of the Vth. surnamed 124. *Eupator*: at twelve years old, in the first of his reign, he puts his own mother and brother to death, and wears the crown sixty-six years.

3913. He treacherously stabs *Ariarathes* king of 91. *Cappadocia*, and sets up his own son.

3915. Beginning of the long war between *Mithri-* 89. *dates Eupator* and the Romans.

3916. *Mithridates* causes all the Romans in Lesser 88. Asia to be massacred in one day.
Archelaus, general to *Mithridates*, seizes Athens, and many other cities of Greece.

3926. Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes expels him a second time. Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His, and the very short reign of his son, continue to about the year 3953.

78.

3575.

Phraates III. sur. 69.
named the Good.

TABLE.

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A. M.

Ant.

PONTUS.

J. C.

3917. Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege. 87.
 3918. Sylla's victory at Cheronea ; and his other at Orcoménos. 86.
 3920. Peace between Mithridates and Sylla. 84.
 3921. Mithridates puts his son to death. 83.
 Second war between Mithridates and the Romans, continuing about three years.

3928. Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius. 76.
 3929. Beginning of the third war of Mithridates with the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are the Roman generals. 75.
 3930. Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and shuts himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid. 74.
 3931. Mithridates besieges Cyzicum. Lucullus two years after obliges him to raise it, and beats him near the Granicus. 73.
 3933. Mithridates, defeated in the plains of Cabira, retires to Tigranes. 71.
 3934. Lucullus declares against Tigranes ; defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta the capital of Armenia. 70.

3936. Lucullus defeats the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates, near the river Arsánias. 68.
 3937. Mithridates recovers all his dominions, caused by mutiny in the Roman army. 67.

[A. M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIA.

Ant.

J. C.

3948.

Mitbridates III. eldest son of Phraates. He is dethroned and put to death by his brother Orodes.

3950.

3951.

Orodes.

Unfortunate expedition of Crassus in Parthia, where he is routed and soon killed.

3953.

Ariobarzanes III.

He is taken prisoner and put to death by Cassius.

3962.

Ariarathes X. brother to Ariobarzanes: he is ejected by Sisinna, but reigns again.

3965.

Ventidius, Roman general, gains several victories over the Parthians, particularly the battle of Zeugma.

3967.

3973.

Archelaus: He is placed on the throne by Mark Antony after expelling Ariarathes. On the death of Archelaus in 4025, who reigned 52 years, Cappadocia becomes a Roman province.

Death of Orodes murdered by his eldest son who succeeds him.

Phraates III. He puts all his brothers and his own son to death, to secure the possession to himself.

A. M.

TABLE.

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Ant.

PONTUS.

J. C.

3938. Pompey is appointed to succede Lucullus: 66.
He defeats Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.
Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.
3939. Pompey takes Caina, where the treasures of 63.
Mithridates were laid up.
Death of Mithridates: his son *Pharnaces* sub-
mits his person and kingdom to the Romans.

Kings who usurped the crown of Egypt
after the conquest thereof by *Cambyfes*.

The Egyptians revolt from Artaxerxes Longi-
manus, and chuse for their king,

3538. *Inarus* prince of Lybia. 460.
When he had reigned ten years he is subdued
by Artaxerxes, and put to death five years
after.
3590. Egypt revolts from Darius Nothus and sets up 414.
Amyrteus of Sais, who reigns six years, and
is succeeded by
3596. *Achoris*: he helps Evagoras king of Cyprus 408.
against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and dies posselt of
Egypt.
3628. *Psamutbis*, one year. 376.
Nepheritus, four months.
3630. *Tachos*. The Lacedemonians send Agefilaus 374.
king of Sparta to assist him against Artaxerxes;
but Agefilaus betrays him, and places Necta-
nebis on the throne.
3642. *Nectanebis*. After a reign of twelve years 362.
he is reduced by Ochus, and retires into Ethio-
pia where he dies; being the last king of the 350.
Egyptian race.

Syracuse was founded in the year of the world
3295, before Christ 709.

3520. *Gelon's* beginning. 484.
3525. *Gelon* is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns 479.
five or six years.
3532. *Hiero I.* He reigns eleven years. 472.
3543. *Thrasybulus.* In a year's time he is expelled 461.
by his subjects.
3544. The Syracusans enjoy their liberty sixty years. 460.
3589. The Athenians, assisted by the people of Se- 415.
gesta, besiege Syracuse under their general Nicias.
They are obliged to raise it at the end of two
years, are pursued and intirely defeated.
3593. Beginning of *Dionysius* the Elder. 411.
3598. *Dionysius*, after deposing the antient magi- 406.
stracy of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the
new, and soon after causes himself to be de-
clared Generalissimo.
3600. Revolt of the Syracusans against *Dionysius* 404.
on the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It
is followed by a treaty between the Carthagi-
nians and Syracusans, whereby Syracuse is to
continue subject to *Dionysius*. New troubles
arise, but he composes them.

TABLE.

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A.M.

Ant.

CARTHAGE.

J.C.

Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Christ 846.

3501. First treaty between the Carthaginians and 503. Romans, by which it appears that the former had then part of Sicily; tho the beginning of that is unknown.

3520. The Carthaginians make an alliance with 484. Xerxes.

3523. The Carthaginians, under *Hamilcar*, attack 481. the Greeks in Sicily, but are intirely defeated, and *Hamilcar* slain.

3592. *Hannibal*, grandson of *Hamilcar* and son of 412. *Gisgo*, is sent from Carthage to aid the *Segestans* against the *Syracusans*. He takes *Selinuntum* and *Himera*, which last is destroyed.

3595. *Hannibal* goes again to Sicily with *Imilcon* his 409. Lieutenant. *Agrigentum* is taken and cruelly used.

3600. The Carthaginian war in Sicily terminates by 404. a treaty with king *Dionysius*.

3605. Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians. 399.
3607. Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius sent by a herald to Carthage. 397.
3615. Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation: the next year he breaks the treaty, and takes it by force. He invites Plato to court, and sells him for a slave. 389.
3632. Death of Dionysius. His son *Dionysius the Younger* succeeds. Plato comes to his court. Dion, banished by order of Dionysius, retires to the Peloponese. 372.
3643. Dionysius makes his sister Arete, wife of Dion, marry Timocrates one of his friends; for which treatment Dion resolves to attack the tyrant with open force. 361.
3644. Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse, and retire to Italy. 360.
3646. Calippus causes Dion to be murdered, and reigns in Syracuse about thirteen months. 358.
3647. *Hipparinus*, brother to Dionysius the Younger, drives Calippus out of Syracuse, and reigns two years. 357.
3654. Dionysius reinstated. 350.
3656. The Syracusans call *Timoleon* to their aid. 348.
3657. Dionysius is forced by *Timoleon* to surrender himself, and retire to Corinth. 347.
3658. *Timoleon* abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and restores liberty through all Sicily. 346.
3685. *Agathocles*, tyrant of Syracuse. 319.

A. M.

CARTHAGE.

Ant.

J. C.

3607. Imilcon returns into Sicily to pursue the war 197.
against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.

3554. Second treaty of peace between Rome and 350.
Carthage.

3556. The Carthaginians make a new attempt upon 348.
Sicily. They are defeated by *Timoleon*, sent by
the Corinthians to aid the Syracusans.

Hanno, citizen of Carthage, endeavors to
usurp the government.

3672. Embassy of Tyre to Carthage to demand aid 362.
against Alexander the Great.

3685. Beginning of the war in Africa and Sicily be- 319.
tween the Carthaginians and Agathocles.

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A. M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

SYRACUSE.

Ante
J. C.

3724. A Roman legion seizes Rhegium safely. 280.

3727. Death of Agathocles by poison. 277.

3729. Hiero II. and Artemidorus receive the supreme 275.
authority of Syracuse.

3736. Hiero is declared king. 268.

3741. Appius Claudius goes to aid the Mamertines 263.
against the Carthaginians in Sicily. Hiero de-
serts the latter and makes an alliance with the
Romans.

3763. Hiero aids the Carthaginians against the 247.
foreign mercenaries.

3786. Hiero meets the consul Sempronius, and 218,
offers to join against the Carthaginians.

AAM.

MAAR.

CARTHAGE.

J. C.

3727. The Carthaginians send Mago to assist the Romans against Pyrrhus. 277.

3741. Beginning of the first Punic war with Rome, 263, subsisting twentyfour years.

3743. The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in 261. Agrigentum, which is taken in seven months.

3745. Seafight between the Romans and Carthaginians near Myle in Sicily. 259.

3749. Seafight near Ecnoma in Sicily. 255.

3750. *Regulus* in Africa, taken prisoner. 254.

Xantippus comes to aid the Carthaginians.

3755. *Regulus* is sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians, according to some, put him to death. 249.

3756. Siege of Lilybeum by the Romans. 248.

3763. Carthaginians defeated near the Ægates, followed by a treaty, which finishes the first Punic war. 241.

War of Lybia against the Mercenaries; continues three years and four months.

3767. The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and pay them 1200 talents. 237.

3776. *Hamilcar* is killed in Spain. His son in law *Asdrubal* succeeds as general of the army. 228.

Hannibal is sent into Spain at the request of his uncle *Asdrubal*.

3784. *Asdrubal's* death. *Hannibal* succeeds as general. 220.

3786. Siege of Saguntum. 218.

Beginning of the second Punic war, continuing seventeen years.

3787. *Hannibal* enters Italy, and gains the battels of Ticinum and Trebia. 217.

A. M.

M. Ant.

SYRACUSE.

J. C.

3789. Death of Hiero II. succeeded by his grandson 215.
Hieronymus.

Hieronymus leaves the Roman party and joins
with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after,
which produces great troubles in Syracuse.

3792. *Marcellus* takes Syracuse, after a siege of 212.
three years.

TABLE.

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A. M.

Ant.

CARTHAGE.

J. C.

3783. Battel of Trasymene. 216.

Hannibal deceives Fabius at Casilinum.

Cneus Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.

3789. Battle of Cannæ. Hanibal retires to Capua. 215.

3790. Asdrubal brother to Hannibal is defeated in Spain by the two Scipios. 214.

3792. The two Scipios Publius and Cneus are killed in Spain. 211.

The Romans besiege Capua.

3794. Hannibal besieges Rome. The Romans soon after take Capua. 210.

3798. Asdrubal enters Italy; is defeated and slain by the consul Livius joined by the other consul Nero. 206.

3799. Scipio, Publius Cornelius, surnamed Africanus subdues all Spain. He is made consul the next year and goes to Africa. 205.

3802. Hannibal is recalled. 202.

3803. Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battel, with a complete victory gained by the Romans. 201.

3804. Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war. 200.

Fifty years elapse between the end of the second Punic war, and beginning of the third.

3810. Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage: he reforms the finances and courts of justice. After he 194. two

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A. M.

CARTHAGE.

Ant.
J. C.

two years, he retires to King Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.

3813. Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus. 191.

3816. Hannibal retires to the island of Crete, to avoid being betrayed to the Romans. 188.

3820. Hannibal leaves Crete, and takes refuge with Prusias king of Bithynia. 184.

3822. Death of Hannibal. 182.

3823. The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to examine the differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. 181.

3843. Second commission sent from Rome by Cato to settle the differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. 156.

3855. Beginning of the third Punic war, during a little more than four years. 149.

3856. Carthage is besieged by the Romans. 148.

3858. Scipio the younger surnamed Æmilianus is made consul, and commands the army before Carthage. 146.

3859. Scipio takes and destroys Carthage. 145.

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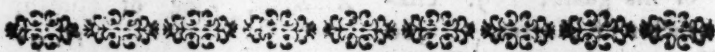
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This INDEX and preceding CHRONOLOGY have both been Revised, Corrected, and much Improved.



ERRATA.

- I. 66. for 16 millions read eighty.
- II. 70. the 7350 Attic talents of silver are computed one million sterling too much.
- III. 70. line 3. for Potamos read Egos.
- V. 60. for Caledonia read near Chalcedon.
- VI. 257. for Acæ read Acræ.
- VII. 139. read 150,000*l*. instead of a million and half.
- 312. read Massaga and Cleophe.
- IX. 51. read Rhinocolura.
- 175. line 5. for defended read defeated.
- 209. for landed read embarked.
- 215. from Etolia, read into.
- X. 282. for Oeta read Offa.
- XII. 20. read Archias: and 93. read Triarius.
- Salamin is modern Latin or French: the antient word is Salamis, near Athens, and in Cyprus.
- Libya should be Lybia, derived from Lubim: it is always Englished into y.

